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CPSU Congress Opens in Moscow 26 Mar

LD2603185693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Another congress was being held in Moscow today, alongside the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies. The 29th Congress of the CPSU opened in Moscow's Orion movie theater, to the strains of the Internationale.

The congress organizing committee reports that 370 delegates arrived for the congress from 11 former Union republics and 60 oblasts and autonomous entities. The following issues were on the agenda: the situation in the CPSU, the purpose and name of the party, the party's charter and manifesto, and election of its leading bodies.

Delivering the report, Presidium member Konstantin Nikolayev pointed out that the party is called upon to restore the USSR on the basis of a single political force, ITAR-TASS reports.

Calls For Recreating Soviet Union

OW2603140493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1340 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Communist Party's central task is to re-establish true democracy and re-create the Soviet Union, stated the participants in the 29th CPSU congress which opened in Moscow on Friday [26 March]. Member of the Organizing Committee and leader of the Communist Union, Aleksey Prigarin, said that a revolutionary situation, whereby the leaders can no longer rule the old way, while the people do not want to live the old way, is taking shape in most of the republics.

He said, however, that the communists had not yet regained their former popularity to begin the struggle for re-creating the integral state. In view of this, the party's program envisages gradual attainment of this goal, including the opposition's struggle for passing power over into the hands of the working people, for overthrowing the bourgeois governments and for eliminating the vestiges of capitalism, and a long-term program for the construction of a socialist society.

Prigarin believes that the re-creation of the Soviet Union must also be gradual. To begin with, Russia and some other republics must consolidate people's power and then pass over to the re-creation of the Soviet Union as a subject of international law.

The new Communist Union is expected to incorporate several parties, each one representing a republic. A communist may be a member of the Union and of his republican party. The delegates to the congress are convinced that only a revived Soviet Communist Party is capable of restoring the Soviet Union as a new state entity. The Organizing Committee reports that more than 1 Mn [million] rubles were spent on the congress. Among the delegates are members of the former Emergency Committee Oleg Sheynin and Vladimir Kryuchkov, and also Yegor Ligachev and former Soviet premier, Valentin Pavlov.

Congress Concludes

LD2703201693 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1900 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] The 29th CPSU congress has ended in Moscow. It was held at the Orion cinema and concert hall in the capital and gathered 415 delegates from 11 former Union republics and more than 60 oblasts and autonomous entities. Its main task, according to its organizers, was to change the CPSU organization, to adopt the rules and program and a number of decisions and declarations, and also to elect the party's leading bodies. As a result of the two-day forum, a Union of Communist Parties-CPSU was formed.

Central Asian States To Discuss Aral Sea Ecology

OW2503173593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1632 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dimitry Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday, President Nazarbayev visited the city of Aralsk in the east of Kazakhstan to acquaint himself with the ecological situation there. The president's press service informed Interfax that his trip was connected with the international conference on the problems of the Aral Sea which will begin in Kzyl-Orda on Friday.

The conference will be attended by the leaders of the Central Asian states - Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan (except President Niyazov of Turkmenistan). The Organizing Committee also sent invitations to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and to the members of the Russian government.

The government of Kazakhstan informed Interfax that the central issue of the conference is the problem of the Central Asian states' equal financial participation in the project to save the Aral Sea.

Meeting Held

LD2703120693 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 0000 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Yesterday in Kzyl-Orda, the conference of heads of states of Central Asia and Kazakhstan on the problems of the Aral Sea was held with the participation of the Russian Federation. Presidents Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan, Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan; Tajik Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmonov; and Russian Deputy Prime Minister Georgiy Khizha attended. Turkmen

President Saparmurad Niyazov, who is currently on a visit to the United States, could not participate in this meeting but expressed his approval of the documents that it will adopt.

The aim of the conference, which was opened by Nursultan Nazarbayev, is to outline joint efforts for tackling the problems of the Aral and the Aral Sea basin in order to prevent the expansion of a natural disaster, to take measures for normalizing the ecology, and ensuring socio-economic development of the most affected region. But this can be achieved only by the active joint efforts of all the CIS countries concerned alongside the support of the world community. The Aral ecological disaster has acquired a global scale. The agenda of the conference also includes setting up an international foundation for saving the Aral and an inter-state council on the Aral Sea basin problems, recruiting membership for these bodies, and an adoption of an appeal to the United Nations and heads of the Asian states.

CIS Coordinator Views Kebich's Economic Union Idea

WS2503114593 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] The idea to create a union of three states has evoked various comments. Some people consider that such a union would make the very idea of the CIS extinct. Others see prospects for the creation of such a union within the limits of the Commonwealth. Ivan Karatchenya, CIS Work Group Coordinator, said to a BELINFORM correspondent: "I am sure that Kebich's declaration about the creation of an economic union is forced. The prime minister simply has no choice. If the initiative receives support at the Supreme Soviet, it will become the first step towards closer cooperation within the CIS." Karatchenya believes that other Commonwealth states will later join the union. He does not reject Belarusian participation in the joint security system under certain conditions, including abstention of the Belarusian Army from regulation of armed conflicts. Well informed sources have reported that the meeting of the CIS heads of legislature, scheduled for today, has been postponed until a later date.

Seminar on Trade Within CIS Discusses Problems

WS2503112693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] The absence of markets outside the former Soviet Union causes a deterioration in the trade situation in all the CIS countries. In 1991, after the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CMEA] was dissolved, the newly independent states lost their positions in the CMEA countries and their share in the export and import turnover of these countries decreased to 22 percent. This was one of the examples furnished at the seminar on CIS trade issues. It was organized by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development together with the State Committee of Belarus on Foreign Economic Relations.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 27 Mar

LD2703062693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0606 GMT 27 Mar 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—Today's Moscow-based newspapers highlight the first day of the proceedings of the 9th (Extraordinary) Congress of the People's Deputies of the Russian Federation.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR), pointing out that "an acute struggle developed" on the first day of the congress again, calls on the deputies to be "reasonable and responsible".

The newspaper, giving a detailed account of the congress proceedings and of speeches made by President Boris Yeltsin, parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and deputies, states that a number of remarks contained overt hints at the Army's desire to intervene in the protracted conflict between the branches of power.

In this connection the newspaper points out that "if a certain third force is capable of intervening in the prolonged dispute between the two branches of power, the name of that force is the people, and by no means the Army".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER), having pointed out that President Boris Yeltsin reaffirmed his position which he had expressed at the previous congress, nevertheless went to a government reshuffle. [sentence as received]

The newspaper lays emphasis on remarks made at the congress by Valeriy Zorkin, chief justice of the Constitutional Court, who again tried to assume "the role of a political peace-maker".

ROSSISKAYA GAZETA, reporting the first day proceedings of the congress, draws a conclusion that the main thing now is "to keep democracy". The newspaper runs the full text of the speeches made at the congress by President Boris Yeltsin, parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and Constitutional Court Chief Valeriy Zorkin.

PRAVDA, which carries a detailed account of the first day of the congress proceedings, is of the opinion that the president of Russia should resign.

An article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA by the newspaper's political news analyst Aleksandr Frolov deals mainly with a probability of the impeachment of the president of Russia.

The analyst writes in particular that so far there are "no guarantees that impeachment will be decided upon". If so, he believes, "there will be gambits involving 'compromises' and 'agreements' which would hardly add stability in society".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs an article by Veniamin Sokolov, chairman of the Russian parliament's Council of the Republic, who emphasised in particular that "the Russian parliament chambers should have equal rights but differ in their functions".

U.S. Summit Confirmed for 3-4 Apr; Far East Visit Postponed

OW2603171793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [26 March], the Russian president's press service confirmed that the meeting between Boris Yeltsin and United States President Bill Clinton will be held in Vancouver on April 3-4.

The press service also reported that the earlier scheduled visit by President Clinton to several Siberian cities and the Far East while on his way to Vancouver has been postponed.

Kozyrev Comments on Talks With Clinton

MK2703133693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Mikhail Karpov report: "'Things Were Not So With Bush,' Says Kozyrev, Summing up Results of His Meeting With Clinton"]

[Text] The Russian Federation foreign minister is convinced that during his visit to the United States he has managed to accomplish virtually all the aims that were set forth. Democratic Russia, possibly losing out in its domestic policy, is obviously winning on the foreign policy front. The compliment would be unmerited if Kozyrev did not clearly see three difficulties that Clinton, who has unequivocally set a course toward supporting democracy in this country, is bound to come up against.

The first has to do with the fact that it is far from easy to convince the Americans that this support will benefit them. Man is typically concerned about today, at the outside about tomorrow, but to look into the day after tomorrow is the prerogative of politicians, and they do not have much credibility even in Africa. What if House Speaker Foley, Senators Mitchell and Dole, even in isolation, have no doubts about the effectiveness of the president's "pro-Russian" position? There is still the hope, however, that the American people too will understand that Russia is not a developing country, but a state going through the difficulties of a transition.

The second one lies in the unprecedented new form of Russian-U.S. relations. "We have ourselves to blame for creating among the Americans a stereotype of how to collaborate with Russia," says Kozyrev, stressing that our country has to pay for the image of the Soviet Union, the scope of interaction with which was, naturally, fairly limited.

Russian-U.S. relations are also not a little complicated by the new bureaucracy that has not as yet taken shape in the U.S. Administration in the period since the new president was elected. Even Strobe Talbott, who took part in the negotiations, has not yet been confirmed in his post.

Kozyrev is sure that he has succeeded in at least formulating Russia's proposals to invigorate bilateral relations, but the whole question is whether it will prove to be possible to unfold them in full before the meeting in Vancouver. After that, it would be logical to expect direct instructions from Yeltsin to specific agencies to do "this and that."

Here is a nuance that may not be uninteresting to those professing the myth about agents of influence. "The U.S. Administration understands that even by supporting the young Russian democracy it cannot harbor any illusions about even indirect interference in our internal affairs," Kozyrev says with confidence.

While talking about the sluggishness of American thinking, the minister also sees some aspects of it that are positive for Russia—how the United States "feared" the disintegration of the USSR and the example of the Ukrainian nuclear syndrome confirmed these fears. They feel exactly the same about the possible disintegration of Russia, which would mean to all of us the advent of an era of "neo-Bolshevism," which in the context of Russian-American relations can only signify the start of a "neo-Cold War," especially given that the Americans have many more possibilities in this sphere today than after World War II, when only half the world was on their side, and now they can add to their West European potential the whole of Eastern Europe without exception.

Andrey Kozyrev, it appears, understands very well that the limit of even well-intentioned declarations in Russian-U.S. relations has been exhausted. Therefore he advances the concept of "implementation." Briefly, it consists in translating into life at least a modicum of what has been said between the two great powers since the time the communist regime collapsed in Russia.

The Bush presidency, in Kozyrev's opinion, should naturally end with a summation of the results of the transitional period in Russian-U.S. relations at the very start of the Clinton presidency, which can be marked by their acquiring a totally new form that would suit not only the two sides, but also the entire world. There is still a lot that is unclear to Minister Kozyrev concerning the concrete details of future interaction, but he is sure that it must not proceed on the level of either credit handouts or advice handouts. "We have plenty of 'soviety' [pun on Russian word sovet meaning "advice" and "soviet"] of our own," the Russian foreign minister thinks.

Commentary Views Visit

LD2803133793 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] In Washington, Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has discussed with America's Secretary of State Warren Christopher final details of the coming Russia-U.S. summit. Andrey Kozyrev was also received by President Bill Clinton, and here is what Radio Moscow news analyst Yuriy Solton writes.

The two presidents, Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton, will meet in Vancouver on 3 and 4 April, as was first planned. The agenda has also been worked out. Ways of broadening and strengthening partnership between Russia and America in different fields have likewise been discussed.

When receiving Andrey Kozyrev the U.S. President assured him of his firm support of economic and political reforms which were begun by Boris Yeltsin. In the opinion of American leaders, the success of those historic efforts in Russia are very important for the United States and other countries which want a safe world.

The Russian minister discussed at the White House concrete steps to extend America's aid in connection with economic reforms in his country. Touching on the political situation in Russia, Andrey Kozyrev pointed out that the internal and external policy of the president and the government remain unchanged and predictable. At home this is a firm course of reforms. Within the Commonwealth of Independent States this is helping economic development and ensuring human rights, and in the world this is partnership and good- neighborly relations.

At the talks in Washington attention was given to certain international problems as well. Cooperation between two countries, especially in eliminating hotbeds of tension, is becoming ever more important. Events today are such that tangible support of the negotiating process is required, especially in ending the war in former Yugoslavia and in the Middle East settlement. America's Secretary of State Warren Christopher said that all those questions were discussed in an atmosphere of mutual interest, and that is very encouraging.

And it was for the first time in the history of relations between the two countries that Russia's foreign minister visited the Pentagon. Together with the U.S. defense minister, Les Aspin, prospects for arms reduction were discussed. This concerned first of all the implementation of the latest treaty providing for a cut of two-thirds in the strategic nuclear arsenals of the two countries. Russia and the United States, though the treaty hasn't yet been ratified by the American Congress and Russia's parliament, have actually begun putting it into practice. It was pointed out that the intention of the American side to assign from the Pentagon's budget $400 million to help Russia dismantle nuclear weapons will speed up this technologically complicated and costly process.

The talks Russia's Foreign Minister has had in Washington confirm the readiness of the two countries to promote partnership and give a new meaning to it. The groundwork has therefore been laid for the fruitful work of the two presidents.

Submarine Collision Blamed on U.S. Captain, U.S. Policy

PM2603203593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 93 p 2

[Vladimir Gundarov report: "Violator of the Rules of Submarine Traffic Disappears From the Scene of the Event... The Collision Between the Russian Nuclear-Powered Vessel and the American Submarine as Seen by Eye-Witnesses"]

[Text] As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, on 20 March there was a collision between a Russian submarine and a U.S. submarine in the Barents Sea at a depth of 74 meters in the Northern Fleet's combat training test range. Our correspondent visited the Northern Fleet nuclear-powered missile-armed submarine, which had returned to based, and met with those who participated in the incident. This is what they said.

Watch Officer Lieutenant Captain Oleg Leonov:

We had been proceeding for around 50 minutes without changing course. And suddenly the submarine drove into what seemed like an underwater rock. I heard a dull crash. Shuddering, the vessel started to nosedive. The training alarm sounded. The men took up their places in response to the alarm within literally 15-20 seconds. After the submarine leveled off, the compartments were inspected. No holes or ingress of water were detected.

Nuclear Submarine Commander Captain First Rank Andrey Bulgakov:

As a professional, I am sincerely astonished at the American submariners' negligent attitude to observance of the rules of good maritime practice and submarine navigation safety. Furthermore, I am astonished that the commander of the American submarine left the collision site without even attempting to find out whether the Russian submarine needed help. Unlike the Americans, however, we did not leave the area; we surfaced, opened radio watch on international frequencies, and were ready to offer assistance if it was required.

On returning to base, the nuclear submarine commander made a verbal and written maritime protest. This is the first such instance in the history of our fatherland's submarine fleet. But unfortunately a protest has no legal significance—submarine movements are not as yet regulated by norms of international maritime law. In view of the fact that submarine routes are becoming as crowded as surface routes, it is time to ponder how to "curb" submarine "reckless drivers."

"The captain of the nuclear submarine Grayling is responsible for the collision," said Rear Admiral Valeriy Aleksin, Navy chief navigator, who came to the

Northern Fleet to investigate the details of the collision. "Having lost contact with our submarine, he acted incompetently, crudely violating generally accepted international norms of navigation safety. But the main cause of the collision lies more in the military-political domain than the professional domain. After a similar collision in February last year, the Russian Navy Command submitted to the Americans proposals on matters relating to the prevention of incidents involving submarines. Alas, this was not followed by any change in the American strategy of 'forward maritime frontiers.' This means that the probability of such incidents, whose consequences are unpredictable, can only increase."

P.S. In a Navy Press Center statement disseminated yesterday, the Russian Federation Navy Main Command again expressed serious concern at the activity of American submarines in Russian coastal waters. The statement notes that U.S. monitoring systems make it possible to observe underwater objects in the Atlantic without resorting to such complex methods as direct tracking.

Under the conditions of the qualitatively new relations developing between our countries and navies, such an approach—which, judging by a statement by an official Pentagon spokesman, is aimed at continuing systematic observation of our nuclear submarines by such dangerous methods—does not promote the strengthening of confidence-building and partnership-building measures or the safeguarding of mutual security. There is obviously also a need, the statement stresses, for a revision of that element of U.S. security policy which presupposes the tracking of Russian Federation Navy strategic facilities [obyekty].

Nuclear Test Ban Urged as Moratorium End Approaches

PM2503114593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Mar 93 First Edition p 7

[Valentina Chernega report: "'Icecap' May Blow Up in July"]

[Text] It is already obvious that the Nonproliferation Treaty, which expires in 1995, is bursting at the seams.

It has been learned in Moscow from competent sources that the U.S. Department of Energy has informed Russia that nuclear weapons tests are to resume at a Nevada test range. Representatives of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry and Ministry of Atomic Energy have received confidential notification No. 92-59/3 from the United States to the effect that an explosion code-named "Icecap" is planned for 28 July.

We would recall that the moratorium on nuclear testing ends 1 July. The United States plans 15 explosions over the next four years. Russia will not be lagging behind either. Viktor Mikhaylov, leader of the Ministry of Atomic Energy, has 12 tests slated for the same period.

A press conference was held Saturday [20 March] with the participation of activists from the international movement "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War," the "To Novaya Zemlya" environmental safety movement, and the "National Consensus" international committee. Representatives of these organizations called on countries with nuclear arsenals for the umpteenth time to resume talks aimed at ending all nuclear weapons testing.

If agreement on the universal and total ending of nuclear explosions is not reached today—when the "cold war" is a thing of the past—we will be leaving future generations a disfigured earth and a genetic legacy of cancer and leukemia.

Sale of Weapons-Grade Uranium to U.S. Questioned

PM2503142593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0850 GMT 24 Mar 93

[From the "Press Express" program by unidentified reporter]

[Text] A number of questions have been generated by an IZVESTIYA report regarding the sale of 500 tonnes of weapons-grade uranium from the Russian nuclear charges being dismantled for use in U.S. nuclear power stations. These questions have been asked in the latest issue of the weekly VEK by Gennadiy Ivanov, a nuclear scientist from Arzamas-16. By mutual agreement we, along with the Americans, will indeed remove warheads from missiles and dismantle the charges. But it is not the same thing if the Americans stockpile and store their uranium assemblies, while we remove their basic weapons-grade qualities and then sell them to the Americans. Although our nuclear power industry has appreciably lagged behind the Americans since Chernobyl, it will develop. That is why, the scientist stresses, we will need the uranium that we are in such a hurry to sell. Ivanov wonders whether we should begrudge these 500 tonnes. Of course we should; this represents an entire 4 percent of the explored world uranium stock. Now another question. Perhaps there is a great deal of benefit to be derived from the transaction? Yes, there is. For the Americans. Once they have used the uranium they will obtain electricity worth $4-5 billion. We will get just $200 million for the first consignment. Lastly, VEK raises a reasonable question: Perhaps we should not be in such a hurry; the cost of energy sources will after all rise and Russia's vast expanses can harbor several secure storehouses. Then we will have a supply of nuclear fuel for a long time—provided of course that we overcome the Chernobyl syndrome.

Pentagon's Request for Funding SDI Program Viewed

LD2603104393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] The Pentagon has requested from Congress $3,800 million next fiscal year for the SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative], also known as the Star Wars program. Vladislav Kozyakov comments:

It is quite significant that during their election campaign last year the Democrat leaders called for cutting spending on military programs in space. Now, when it has come to business, they have for some reason neglected their election pledges. There have been proposals for cuts in any articles of the Pentagon budget but one: The Star Wars plan. The new administration is planning to spend on such research no less than the previous one. What is the reason? Why is the American taxpayer suggested to spend at the next fiscal year starting on 1 October billions of dollars on the development of space weapons conceived back in the Cold War years? This week the SDI program has turned 10. It has already required more than $30 billion. It's main idea was to provide an anti-missile umbrella for the United States. The original concept is now being reconsidered. The SDI will have more limited aims. Yet, one cannot but ask a number of questions posed by further work on the program because the likely emergence of space weapons is the sword of Damocles over the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the basis for all other strategic nuclear arms agreements. One is bound to ask why it is necessary for the Americans to speed up work on the Star Wars project now that Moscow and Washington have agreed to cut their nuclear arsenals by two-thirds by the year 2003. There is one more question: Is there any reason for continuing research into SDI at a time when Russia and the United States have agreed to look into the possibility of a global defense against ballistic missiles? Experts in both countries have already started working on the project. The main idea of the project is to unite the United States, Russia, and other countries to make a global umbrella that would make them secure against likely terrorist or extremist actions. The new situation in the world produces new ideas. What looked like an adequate response to current threats in the period of East-West nuclear confrontation, say 10 years ago, is completely irrelevant now. Ridding the world of nuclear arms and using space for peaceful purposes are in the forefront these days. One of the brain fathers of the Star Wars program, physicist Edward Teller of the United States, suggests reconsidering the project in order to build a ground, airborne, and space system to monitor the condition of the environment around the world. Russian scientists have supported the proposal. In science and in politics one has to be able to see many years ahead. Instead of the Star Wars plan, priority must be given to peace on earth and in space.

Conference on Military Education Held With U.S.

OW2903143193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1341 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A U.S.-Russian conference on "Problems and Ways of Morally Educating Russian and U.S. Military Personnel" opened Monday [29 March] at the Russian Humanitarian Academy of Armed Forces.

"The joint initiative of Russian and U.S. military personnel to hold such a conference aims not to teach one another, but to share experience despite all our differences in traditions and living standards," said one of the conference's organizers, First Rank Captain and head of the academy's political science department Vitaliy Pusko, in an interview with Interfax.

Participants in the conference, which will last 5 days, will consider problems of settling conflicts, the development of military collaboration between the United States and Russia, and the course of reforms in the Russian army. Among the topics of the conference is "the social and psychological consequences of reducing the armed forces."

Pusko expressed his hope that the conference would help to a certain extent "to establish a better attitude in society toward the army," especially to remove the psychological tension surrounding the draft.

Joint Conference With U.S. on Democracy, Media Ends

LD2603152293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1617 GMT 25 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Agureyev]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 25 Mar—How to make a newspaper profitable, how to construct a proper relationship with the authorities, and what are the legal limits on press activity? These were among the questions posed by the Russian participants to their U.S. counterparts—publishers, lawyers, and editors—at the "Democratic Government and the Media" international conference.

This four-day event ended today. It was held at ITAR-TASS and was organized by the "Russia-U.S.A." international public foundation, the Foundation for the Development of Economic Reform, and the International Center for Civic Administration (U.S.A.).

The speakers included Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev, Mikhail Fedotov, Russian press and information minister, and representatives from government departments and ministries interested in finding the right tone in their relations with the press. [passage omitted]

Yeltsin Accepts Japanese Invitation To Attend G-7 Meeting

LD2703132493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1131 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin today received N. Matsunaga, a special Japanese Government representative, the Russian president's press service reports.

N. Matsunaga handed the Russian president a letter from Japanese Prime Minister K. Miyazawa, in which the head of the Japanese Government, in his capacity as chairman of the next meeting of leaders of the seven most advanced industrialized countries, invites B. Yeltsin to take part in the next G-7 meeting that will be held in July 1993 in Tokyo.

The Russian president expressed his gratitude for the invitation, saying that he is ready to take part in the coming meeting.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Invitation

LD2603172093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1440 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The statement by the Japanese government on the decision of the leaders of the G-7 member states and representatives of the European Communities to invite Boris Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, to take part in the G-7 summit conference in Tokyo in July 1993 has been met with satisfaction in Moscow, a statement from the director of the department of information and the press of the Russian Foreign Ministry distributed here today says.

"The Russian leadership is carefully studying the question of holding, in the period before the Tokyo summit, the necessary consultations with the G-7 countries and the international financial organizations on measures for the further support for the program of reforms in Russia," the statement notes. "In connection with this, it will in the near future define its position on sending its representatives to participate in the conference of foreign and finance ministers of the G-7 in Tokyo on 14-15 April this year, which is being convened in order to discuss specific questions of assisting the Russian reforms."

Moscow Seeks $37 Billion-Worth of G-7 Support

OW2703125793 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1000 GMT 27 Mar 93

[From the "NHK News" program]

[Text] It has been revealed that Russia is requesting from the G-7 industrialized nations more than $37 billion worth of support to cover six areas of reform. The six areas include the postponement of liabilities and the development of energy resources. While the Japanese Government is starting preparations to host the meeting of G-7 foreign and finance ministers scheduled for 14-15 April to discuss measures to support Russia, the details of the request from Russia to the G-7 nations has been revealed.

According to the wish list, Russia seeks $7 billion for reform of the industrial infrastructure, including the development of energy resources; $5 billion for financial support for social security; $6 billion for the establishment of a fund to stabilize the currency; and the promotion of medium and small-sized businesses. If all the requests are granted, the financial aid from the G-7 nations would total more than $37 billion.

Kozyrev Leaves for Iran To Begin Two-Day Visit

LD2903003193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2248 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Mar [date as received]—Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev left by air on Sunday for a two-day visit to Iran. At the talks in Tehran it is planned to discuss mainly questions of development of multilateral relations and cooperation with Iran, the region's situation, and some international problems. Work is due to be completed in Tehran on drafting a new document on the fundamentals of relations between Russia and Iran and a protocol will be signed on cooperation between the Foreign Ministries.

Austrian Foreign Minister Visits Moscow

Kozyrev Interviewed

AU2603220793 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Georg Dox report on interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in Moscow on 26 March—recorded; Kozyrev statements in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Austrian Foreign Minister Mock met with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev this evening. Here is a report from my colleague, Georg Dox:

[Dox] If Yeltsin's opponents have a hostile image, this is Andrey Kozyrev. After the Soviet Union's end, the career diplomat stepped into the international limelight. Today he is regarded as one of Yeltsin's most passionate adherents among Russia's top politicians.

Alois Mock was able to convince himself of Andrey Kozyrev's position on the situation.

[Kozyrev] I see the situation very positively, also because the president's situation is very good and firm. I am quite sure that the worst critics of the president and of myself or the Foreign Ministry position are narrow-minded. I am convinced that they do not have the power to reverse the reforms.

[Dox] Many of Yeltsin's opponents have called repeatedly for your resignation. Is it because of your Yugoslavia policy?

[Kozyrev] Our opponents do not want Russia to be a normal, stable member of the international community, but an aggressive one, for example, in Yugoslavia or

Iraq, or at least they want it to cooperate with the aggressors. This was a characteristic of the Soviet era, the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Therefore, we are doing everything today to change Russia radically.

Kozyrev Stresses Stability

LD2703000193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2220 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar— Assessing the present situation in Russia and the situation at the Congress of People's Deputies taking place in Moscow, Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev stressed that "there will be no return to the past, first and foremost because of the sound positions of President Boris Yeltsin." The same emotions, the minister stressed, which are spilling over at the Congress, the non-parliamentary expressions of individual deputies and the furious criticism of the domestic and foreign policy of the country's leaders all help to confirm my certainty that the efforts of these "political and ethical dwarfs" will never force Russia's domestic and foreign policy to turn back.

The head of the Russian Federatopm foreign policy department spoke to journalists following his conversation on Friday [26 March] evening with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, who is making an official visit to Moscow. I can assure Alois Mock and our other international partners, Andrey Kozyrev stressed, that Russia "has always been and remains a reliable international partner, a worthy member of the world community."

He said that these critics would like us "to turn into the stooge of aggressive forces (like similar forces in Iraq and some other terrorist regimes) and to return to Stalinist times." This is why we are exerting all possible efforts to change the former system radically and fundamentally. "It is not these political dwarves who today determine the present and future of Russia," the minister emphasized.

Andrey Kozyrev announced that during the conversation there was discussion of bilateral relations which, in his view, are "developing positively," and of a number of topical international problems, primarily the tragedy in the former Yugoslavia. It is our common opinion, the minister went on, that the proposed Vance-Owen plan for a settlement is the main solution to the crisis. As President Boris Yeltsin emphasized the other day, all interested parties should regard the plan as the sole sensible alternative to war; and those who do not join this plan will assume a grave responsibility and place themselves in opposition to the world community. Andrey Kozyrev welcomed the decision of the Muslim and Croatian sides to agree to this plan, stressing that in this present case the responsibility will lie with the Bosnian Serbs, and he voiced the hope that the later would nevertheless accept this plan.

The minister also said that during the conversation there was an exchange of opinions on the role of the Russian contingent in the UN peacekeeping forces which will be needed after all sides have approved the Vance-Owen plan. The eight-point plan proposed by President Yeltsin states that Russia is ready to cooperate with other states and to offer its contingent to join the UN peace keeping forces.

Andrey Kozyrev stressed that Alois Mock's present visit to Moscow is not only an expression of friendly sentiments and partnership relations between Russia and Austria, but also demonstrates Austria's support for the process of democratic reforms in this difficult moment for Russia. "Friends always come at the right time," the mnister said in conclusion.

Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, in his turn, gave a high and positive appraisal of Russian-Austrian relations. We were extremely pleased to note our common position on a problem which concerns us greatly, namely the settlement in former Yugoslavia, the minister stressed. The role of Russia, as a great power, and its participation in settling the crisis situation are extremely important.

Further Kozyrev Remarks

OW2703090893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0844 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said late last night, following his meeting with his Austrian counterpart, Alois Mock, that Russian President Boris Yeltsin's positions were very strong, which ruled out the possibility of any revanche against him. "The emotional outbursts we see at the Congress of People's Deputies and the nonparliamentary vocabulary used there, including what is said about Russian foreign policy, are the deputies' own ethical problems," Kozyrev said.

He described some of the most violent critics of Yeltsin and Russia's domestic and foreign policy as "political dwarfs." They did not want Russia to be an independent great power, he said, and wish it to become a "hanger-on" to terrorist movements and aggressive forces in Yugoslavia, Iraq, and other countries, "which was very much the case in the days of the former Soviet Union." "This kind of policy is immanent in the Soviet system, which is why we wish to reform this system radically," he said.

Kozyrev is sure the "political dwarfs" will be unable to reverse Russia's democratic development. "They are not the forces on who determine its present and future," he said.

"Those dwarfs can tie a Gulliver's hands and feet for a while, but he'll tear their ropes eventually anyway," he said.

He assessed Mock's visit as an expression of support for Russia's democratic reforms at the present difficult moment. "Friends always come in time," he said, adding that, along with the situation in Russia and Russian-Austrian relations, he discussed with the Austrian minister some international issues as well, in particular the situation in the former Yugoslavia.

Now that the Bosnian Moslems and Bosnian Croats had signed the Vance-Owen plan it was the Bosnian Serbs who bore all the responsibility, Kozyrev said, citing Yeltsin's recent statement to the effect that the Vance-Owen plan was the only reasonable alternative to the war, and that the party which failed to sign it would find itself in opposition to the entire world community. Kozyrev expressed the hope that the Bosnian Serbs would ultimately be persuaded to sign the plan.

He confirmed Russia's readiness to send its troops to Bosnia- Hercegovina to join United Nations forces involved in implementing the Vance-Owen plan.

Austria's Mock Comments

AU2703175693 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Mar 93 pp 1,2

[Gerhard Bitzan report: "Mock Fully Supports Russian Reform Course"]

[Excerpt] Moscow—On 26 March the visits to Moscow by the three foreign ministers of the EC troika and Foreign Minister Mock turned into a very clear demonstration of solidarity for Russian President Yeltsin, who is in dire straits. Even though the guests only met with Foreign Minister Kozyrev and not Yeltsin himself, they made it very clear on several occasions whom their countries support.

Mock formulated this support in a speech he gave in Moscow: "I think it is of decisive importance that the comprehensive political and economic reform process, which since 1991 has been determined by President Yeltsin, the democratically legitimized highest representative of this country, is continued and extended with determination." Therefore, he hopes "that today all democratic forces in Russia will be able to finally overcome the tragic heritage of the totalitarian system of injustice and to establish a lasting foundation for an open, just, and prosperous society which is ready to accept responsibility."

After his meeting with Mock, Kozyrev told journalists that Yeltsin's situation is good and firm. He rejected criticism of the president as "emotional and unqualified." Concerning the Bosnian problem, he repeated a statement by Yeltsin, who had said that the only way out of the Bosnian crisis is the acceptance of the Vance-Owen plan—and that the side which does not accept it is to be blamed for the continuation of the crisis.

Mock expressly thanked his Kozyrev and Yeltsin for "the moderate and constructive line in foreign policy which they are pursuing against various types of opposition," and said "I am also thinking of your responsible attitude in regard to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia." In this respect, Mock stressed that on several occasions Kozyrev had commented positively on Austria's proposal for protection zones in Bosnia.

In addition to Russian domestic policy, Western support for the reform process in Russia, and the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, Mock and Kozyrev also discussed the intensification of contacts between Moscow and the Central European Initiative (CEI). Mock told DIE PRESSE that recently the Russian side has repeatedly expressed its desire for close cooperation with the CEI.

Regarding Moscow's policy toward the former Yugoslavia, Mock sees little chance that a decisive change in course will come about even if Yeltsin manages to win over his opponents. "But then it will at least not get worse," Mock said. At the moment Moscow is blocking a UN Security Council resolution on military enforcement of the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Today the foreign minister will open an Austrian library in Moscow and then another library and an exhibition of Austrian painter Ernst Fuchs in St. Petersburg. "We want to intensify cultural relations with Russia because Russia is part of European culture," Mock said.

Klestil: "The West Must Do More"

Speaking to journalists on Friday, President Klestil expressed his hope that there will be "no explosion" in Russia. At the moment a "time bomb" is ticking in Moscow, and the West must do more to support democracy in Russia. [passage omitted]

EC Delegation Visits for Talks With Officials

LD2703204893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1118 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 March—Russian Government Deputy Chairman Aleksandr Shokhin had a meeting in Moscow today with a visiting EC delegation to discuss the state of the talks between Russia and the EC regarding the planned conclusion of a cooperation agreement. The delegation is composed of Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes, British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Douglas Hogg [name and title as received], Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen, and other officials. Aleksandr Shokhin told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that the Russian side is opting for this agreement to work toward the

prospect of "transfer to a free trade zone with EC members." There was discussion of the problem of Russia's access to European markets, the issue of making the technical assistance program more effective, and also a whole series of other problems. The EC delegation is scheduled to hold talks this afternoon with Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Meeting With Kozyrev

OW2803101093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1616 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The Russian government, supported by Yeltsin, is predictable and reliable. It will expand relations with western partners, including the European community." This statement was voiced by the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on the outcome of his negotiations with the European Community delegation on Saturday [27 March]. In Moscow Kozyrev negotiated with a member of European Communities' Commission Hans van den Brook and three Foreign Ministers from the European Community member-countries, the Dutch Minister Nilson Petersen, Belgian Minister Willy Claes, and British Minister Douglas Hurd.

According to Kozyrev, European Community is striving to transform relations with our country from humanitarian and moral-political support "into a more serious stage of cooperation." This cooperation envisages a move to create a free trade zone, application GATT rules with respect to Russia [as received], and abolition of protectionist restrictions. "We should like to have these provisions in the treaty between Russia and European Community," the Minister said.

The Dutch Foreign Minister, who chairs at the European Community currently, said that the community "from the bottom of its heart" supports President Yeltsin's and Russian government's efforts aimed at implementation of democratic reforms. At the same time Petersen recognized that the progress on the way to conclude a treaty on partnership between Russia and European Community is "still unsatisfactory." To this effect he proposed to expand mandate at the negotiations held by the European Communities' Commission. In the opinion of the Dutch Minister, this will help to more flexibly conduct negotiations and to conclude a long-term agreement. "I hope that the treaty will be ready in the near future," said Petersen.

Kozyrev and representatives of the European Community paid much attention to the situation in the former Yugoslavia. The head of the Russian Foreign Ministry emphasized that there is no alterative to Vance-Owen plan to settle the Bosnian crisis. He expressed the hope that the Bosnian Serbs, the only ones out of the warring parties who have not signed this plan yet, "will also choose peace but not war." "This is in their own interests, in the interests of peace in the former Yugoslavia and in the whole Europe as well," he said.

According to Petersen, the European community intends to exert maximum pressure on the Bosnian Serbs.

More on Meeting

LD2703183593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1728 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—Russia estimates the Moscow visit of a EC delegation as the proof of Russia's partners' readiness to enter a new stage of EC-Russian interaction, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said here today.

The delegation includes foreign ministers from Great Britain, Denmark and Belgium (the countries of the former, current and future chairmen of the European Council).

This predetermines the transition from humanitarian and moral-political assistance to Russia to greater rapprochement through gradual progress towards the free trade zone, actions under GATT rules, removal of protectionist limits on Russian exports and technical interaction, that is what Russia would like to establish and include in a prepared agreement on Russian-EC partnership and cooperation, said the Russian minister, after meeting the EC delegation and a representative of the EC Commission, who arrived in Moscow on Friday. [sentence as received]

The Russian cooperation with the European Communities is of partner and ally character, which would be impossible in the former Soviet Union or under another regime. The current Russian Government, whose stronghold is Boris Yeltsin, remains predictable and reliable, it will consistently increase its relations with Western partners and the European Communities, said the minister.

Today's meeting discussed some topical international issues, including settlement in former Yugoslavia. The sides have come to the unanimous decision there is no alternative to the agreement on the basis of the Vance-Owen plan, and agreed everything should be done to urge Muslim and Croatian sides join the plan and Bosnian Serbs follow their example.

In his turn, Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen described the meeting as a new important stage in the EC-Russian relations. This is the first time a EC delegation of such rank arrived in Moscow to convey EC assurances of full support to the policy of President Yeltsin aimed at democratic reforms, democratic norms of life and market economy, he noted.

Talks With Chernomyrdin

OW2803110893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1616 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Following his meeting with the Dutch [as received] Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Peterson, the British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd, the Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes, and a member of the European Community's Commission Mr Hans Van den Brook on Saturday [27 March], the Russian Prime Minster Viktor Chernomyrdin said that there are no problems in relations between Russia and its western partners due to the ongoing Congress. Viktor Chernomyrdin declared that it was the first meeting in such a composition "and just at that moment when we are experiencing hard times. We highly appreciate this fact."

At the negotiations the parties discussed an agreement on partnership and cooperation encompassing the issues on energy, staff training, a special trade regime, etc. "Finally this agreement should result in an open trade between the European Community and Russia," the Dutch Foreign Minister Nils Helwig Petersen pointed out.

Chernomyrdin Receives EBRD President Attali

LD2903102093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0959 GMT 29 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow March 29 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin met with President of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) Jacques Attali on Monday, Pavel Gurin, press secretary of the Russian prime minister, told ITAR-TASS on Monday.

According to Gurin, Attali had confirmed EBRD's readiness to manage the foundation for the development of medium-size and minor businesses in Russia, saying that the G-7 countries would finance the foundation.

Attali said that EBRD officials realise that Russia faces difficulties in repaying its debts and compared the situation in Russia with a similar situation in Germany in keizer's times.

In this connection Attali emphasised that EBRD would more actively work with Russia.

For his part, Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin said that EBRD recommendations would be accepted only if they met Russia's interests.

Gurin said that as a result of the 45-minute long meeting agreements have been reached on increasing the volume of EBRD transactions in Russia and increasing Russian staff in the EBRD.

A plan was adopted under which the Russian Government would give guarantees to the bank in investing large-scale projects in Russia. Chernomyrdin emphasised that Russian mortgages for EBRD loans were out of the question.

The meeting was attended by Russian Vice-Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin and EBRD First Vice-President von Freeman.

More on Meeting

OW2903114393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1126 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) Jacques Attali, said on Monday [29 March] in Moscow in conversation with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin that the West understood the fact that Russia at present was having an extremely difficult time servicing its loans. The Russian premier's spokesman, Pavel Gurin, told Interfax that Attali compared the current economic situation in Russia and the situation concerning foreign debt payments with the situation in Germany in the twenties and early thirties.

The EBRD president proposed the idea of granting Russia new credits which would be backed by land, mineral deposits and other natural resources. But the Russian prime minister rejected this idea, emphasizing that Russia could pay for credits with finished products, and that after detailed studies of joint projects, could grant them state guarantees.

Chernomyrdin pointed out to Attali that so far, Russia and the EBRD were not cooperating very efficiently. Attali, in response, stressed his bank's interest in expanding cooperation with Russia, and also the bank's readiness to increase the number of Russian representatives in the bank to serve this purpose.

Czech Foreign Minister Arrives in Moscow

LD2503224593 Prague CTK in English 2111 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow March 25 (CTK)—Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec arrived here tonight for a one-day official visit, the first by a Czech Government representative since the split of the Czechoslovak Federation at the end of 1992.

Zieleniec is to meet Friday with his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev and Deputy Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, but the programme may be changed due to the expected culmination of the current constitutional crisis in Russia.

In talks with his Russian partners, Zieleniec is expected to focus on the treaty signed by the former Czechoslovakia and Russia in 1992 but never ratified due to Czechoslovakia's split into two independent republics. Also high on the agenda is the debt of Russian enterprises against the Czech Republic.

Czech diplomats in Moscow believe, however, that the visit is above all to make it clear that even after Czechoslovakia's split Russia remains in the centre of interest of the Czech Republic.

Zieleniec will sign a protocol in Moscow on cooperation between the two countries' Foreign Ministries.

Meets Kozyrev

LD2603121993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1159 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev held talks here today with the Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic Josef Zieleniec. The two ministers exchanged views on prospects on Russo-Czech relations and on preparations for the signing of a political treaty and economic agreements between the two countries.

The ministers also focussed on raising the effectiveness of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and its agencies, and discussed the role played by Russia and Czechia in the European process and the situation in former Yugoslavia.

The two ministers signed a protocol on cooperation between the two ministries.

The Czech minister of foreign affairs handed over to Andrey Kozyrev a message from the Czech President Vaclav Havel for Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The head of the Czech state expressed in the message full support for the reform policy conducted by the Russian president.

Josef Zieleniec is in Moscow on a working visit. Welcoming him on Thursday, Andrey Kozyrev expressed confidence that all the friendly ties between the two peoples would successfully develop also at the present stage for the creation of full-scale relations. Kozyrev said Russia shared the other country's desire for expanding cooperation between Russia and Czechia at a new, higher level.

Kozyrev Comments

OW2603142593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1340 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Asked to comment on Ruslan Khasbulatov's TV interview yesterday, and to his statement to the effect that Russia's foreign policy has been subordinated to the interests of the West, Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said that "this kind of ideological rhetoric must not be taken seriously".

Following his talks with Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec on Friday, Kozyrev said: "Our foreign policy is subordinated to the interests of good neighborly relations with the Western states, including Belarus, Ukraine, the Czech Republic and other states."

He also said, not without irony, that "whether we like it or not, we'll have to maintain contacts with such eastern neighbors as the U.S."

Zieleniec News Conference

OW2603211993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2026 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia remains a very important partner for the Czech republic and not only for economic reasons but for political ones as well, said Czech Foreign Minister Jozef Zieleniec on Friday [26 March] at a press conference before leaving Moscow. He said that bilateral relations with Russia were burdened with past baggage, but now they are finally normalizing.

Commenting on recent events in the Russian Federation, the minister said that it "was very important that Russia continue moving towards democracy and an economy based on private property." The minister stressed that Prague officially supports Russian supporters of this aim, remarking however, that one of the goals of his visit to Moscow was to "make Czech-Russian relations independent of domestic political fluctuations."

In reply to a question from Interfax [IF] about the future of military cooperation between the two countries, Zieleniec stated: "the main goal of the Czech republic's foreign policy is integration with western European structures, including NATO, and Prague will not take part in any other military groupings."

When speaking about problems of bilateral economic relations, Zieleniec recalled that Russia owes the former Czechoslovakia about $5 Bn [billion] and that during the current round of negotiations the question arose of capitalizing on Russia's debt (paying off the debt by transferring property management rights, for instance of industrial enterprises - IF). The minister was cautious about the idea, remarking about the economic instability in Russia, which puts new investments in Russian enterprises at great risk.

No Officers Involved in Group of Four Recruited by Germany

MK2603124493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 93 p 2

[Vadim Solovyev report under "Army" rubric: "Four Civilians Convicted of Espionage. Russian Officers Did Not Participate in the 'Affair'"]

[Text] The trial of four "civilians" accused of "espionage against the Russian Federation" by a Moscow Military

District military tribunal ended on 22 March. The General Staff panel found that they had engaged in the "collection of secret and top secret information for the benefit of a foreign state on the territory of the Western Group of Forces (the group of Russian troops in Germany)." The organizer of the "espionage group" was named as Dmitriy Gorchakov, second pilot of a Novosibirsk aviation enterprise, who arrived in Germany by private invitation and who ended up in a displaced persons camp. (It was there that he was recruited by German intelligence). Gorchakov was sentenced to six years. The three others were sentenced as follows: Roman Avitisyan, an official, received four years' imprisonment, and two former soldiers, Yuriy Linnik and Aleksey Parusov, received three years.

Aleksandr Beznasyuk, chairman of the Moscow Military District military tribunal, asserts that not a single Russian officer was involved in this espionage case, whatever the newspapers may have said. The trying of civilians by a Moscow Military District court is explained by the fact that "espionage trials" fall within the military's purview. Beznasyuk also reported that such investigations are extremely rare and that last year, for example, there were none at all.

Tajikistan Defense Ministry To Receive Rocket Launchers

OW2803174993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1648 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tajikistan's defence ministry will receive 6 rocket launchers and several howitzers from Russian troops soon in line with an agreement on Russia's assistance in creating national armed forces in that republic. This has been reported to Interfax by an anonymous source in the command of the 201 Russian army division.

According to this source, Tajikistan is already well equipped militarily. It has an air force of its own. However, Tajik servicemen are not good yet at handling the supplied military hardware, nor are they able to repulse possible armed provocations from Afghanistan on their own.

According to UN information, there are up to 80 thousand Tajik refugees in Afghanistan. Many of them have been trained in special military camps for three months.

According to a collective security treaty, Russia and a number of other CIS states are to help Tajikistan, if it is attacked from the outside.

Delegation Leaders Cited on Russian-Georgian Talks

PM2603134193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Mar 93 p 3

[Vasiliy Fatigarov report: "Result of Talks Depends on Settlement of Conflict in Abkhazia"]

[Text] A number of documents of mutual significance have been agreed at the fourth round of Russian-Georgian talks.

The latest session of the Russian Federation and Republic of Georgia state delegations has finished. The main focus of attention at the talks was issues relating to the temporary presence of Russian military formations and border troops on Georgian territory.

However, considerable differences remained on the issues that were discussed. The question of shared participation by the sides in financing border troops was not resolved. The Georgian delegation proposed financing border troops equally with Russia, which was unacceptable to the Russian side because Georgia's borders will be guarded and therefore the border troops will be ensuring the security of the Georgian state first and foremost.

The sources of pension payments to former USSR Ministry of Defense pensioners have not been agreed either. The Georgian delegation believes that Russia alone should pay the pensions of pensioners in this category.

The draft treaty on the legal status of Russian military formations on Georgian territory was also nearly nullified by the Georgian delegation when it proposed to conclude the withdrawal by the end of 1995, but this changes the very concept of the understanding, which envisages "implementing all-around businesslike cooperation for two and a half years" with a view to deciding what should happen next toward the end of this period on the basis of the results of the cooperation. This approach, in the opinion of Russian delegation leader Feliks Kovalev, which he expressed in an interview with your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, calls the whole need for the treaty into question.

Regarding economic relations: According to Kovalev, these cannot develop normally until the bloodshed in Abkhazia ceases.

"The Abkhazian conflict is our internal problem," Georgian delegation leader Mikhail Ukleba said, calling on the Russian authorities to sign a fundamental interstate treaty as soon as possible. Accusing Russia of participation in the Abkhazian conflict, Ukleba simultaneously claimed, in answer to a question put by your correspondent, that "Georgia has every interest in developing ties with Russia."

But despite the differences and unresolved issues, the leader of the Russian delegation nevertheless believes that the work done at the fourth round of Russian-Georgian talks was significant and productive on the whole. A whole range of documents of reciprocal significance have been agreed. The date of the next round will be agreed through diplomatic channels.

Ministry Opposed To Breaking Relations With Latvia, Estonia

OW2603174993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents A. Borodin, S. Ivanov, and I. Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] To entirely break off or halt Russia's commercial, cultural, scientific and technical relations with Latvia and Estonia would not be worthwhile. This was stated in the Russian Foreign Ministry's response to a proposal by Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov on breaking off relations with these Baltic republics as a protest to their "moral genocide" of the Russian-speaking population there.

The statement emphasizes that the introduction of such sanctions could cause conditions in those countries to deteriorate for those less protected parts of the population, especially the Russian-speaking part.

At the same time the Foreign Ministry reported that the Russian government was already considering a proposal to reject free trade relations with Estonia, and to delay the effect of an agreement with Latvia on the principles of commercial cooperation on the basis of most favored nation trade status.

Baltic Fleet Unit Disbanding; Personnel 'Bitter'

PM2603145393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Report from Klaipeda by G. Sablin and A. Troshin; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Sablin] The Baltic Fleet Coastal Defense No. 3 Guards Division, stationed in Klaipeda, is to be disbanded by the end of the year.

I must say right away that this report, or rather the Russian defense minister's order to this effect, is evoking mixed feelings.

On the one hand it is gratifying to note that Russia is strictly abiding by its word and cutting back its forces by disbanding troop units that are being withdrawn from Baltic countries. On the other hand it is possible to understand the bitter feelings of cadre officers, many of whom still have no housing or clear prospects.

Vietnamese Premier: Russia Reducing Troops in Camranh Bay

LD2603145993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1421 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Varlamov]

[Text] Tokyo March 26 TASS—"Russia is not increasing, but rather reducing the number of its troops deployed on installations around Vietnam's Camranh Bay," Vietnamese Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet, currently paying an official visit here, told a press conference in Tokyo. Commenting at the request of ITAR-TASS on Japanese press reports that additional Russian naval forces and aircraft were being allegedly deployed at that logistics base, he said:

"Camranh military installations are Vietnam's property. We had an agreement with the former USSR to service Soviet ships there. Vietnam is continuing these agreements with Russia. A difficult situation has developed in Russia and, I believe, it has no plans to increase its military potential in Camranh."

Vietnam "is not concerned" about China's stepped up military build-up, the Vietnamese premier said, stressing that both countries were bound by a reciprocal agreement not to resort to the use of armed force.

Ninth Congress of People's Deputies 26 March Session

Kostikov Questions Loyalty of Rutskoy, Skokov

LD2603151493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1359 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar—The future relationship between the Russian Federation president and vice president depends "on the moral and political choice of Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy," Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian Federation president's press secretary, declared today in a conversation with journalists. "If the vice president is prepared to cooperate with the president, he has constitutional grounds for doing that," the press secretary said. "But if he continues to be two-faced—meeting with the president today while holding talks with the opposition tomorrow—then I hope his civic conscience will awaken."

Speaking about Yuriy Skokov, secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council, Vyacheslav Kostikov declared: "I think Skokov has been distancing himself from the president. In my opinion, he is not a convinced ally of the president." The press secretary said that, after watching Yuriy Skokov's activities at the council of the heads of the republics within the Russian Federation over a lengthy period, he has concluded: "It is Skokov who has turned that body, to some extent, into an antipresidential conference."

It is common knowledge that Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Security Council Secretary Yuriy Skokov have not expressed unqualified support for the Russian Federation president's address to the people on 20 March.

Skokov Addresses Congress

LD2603202193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1421 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Speech by Yuriy Skokov, secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council, at evening session of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Congress! I am not a people's deputy and, to prevent any misinterpretation, I would like to say straightaway: I have not asked to take the floor. As secretary of the Security Council I have fulfilled my functions strictly in accordance with the regulations pertaining to the secretary of the Security Council and to the Security Council itself, but I am grateful to you for the fact that you demanded that I should speak here and I would like to take advantage of this opportunity.

Honestly, I expected something different from the Congress, and I will tell you why. Some time ago for the first time in our country we adopted a law on security. For a long time security in our country was associated with the KGB. And when we were first drafting the security law we wrote that it was not for the protection of ideology but for the protection of the vital interests of the individual, society, and the state. For the first time we said: the individual is the most important thing; let's place this individual before us and let's protect him, his right to life, his right to normal conditions of life, his peace of mind and confidence.

What can we give to this individual at present? We can give him an unstable society, lack of confidence, and fear. Yesterday I specially drove around Moscow and went around some shops and queues. People are afraid of civil war.

Ultimately let's stop and recall what we all promised solemnly to the people. At one time I was elected a USSR people's deputy and we all talked about a different life, we all talked about peace, confidence, and that the state would help and protect.

But before protecting this state, we should know what state we want to protect. I was not a Russian people's deputy and I was not a member of the Russian government in 1990 when your Congress passed the declaration on national sovereignty. But after I became first deputy head of government I honestly fulfilled my duty by defending this declaration. I am even defending it now. And this declaration laid down the main principles of this new state: a federation.

Today we do not know what state we want to build. We do not know what principles we should be guided by. We do not know what system should rule. Everyone is talking about the economy. I can categorically say that no economy and no reforms can be successful because they are stuck in this system of state structure.

I can see my old friend in the audience, the president of Yakutia. We have been in touch for a long time. How can one build a state at present when, for example, in Yakutia they say: These are laws of the Russian Federation, we had to adopt our own law and to correct the laws of the Russian Federation so that they could operate on Yakutia's territory.

Can this be called a state? If today we have the president who issues decrees, Yakutia has its own president. How should they interact? And another republic has the Supreme Soviet chairman as head of state and there is also a chairman of the Council of Ministers. How can they interact? And there is something completely different on the territory of a kray or oblast. What are we doing? What reforms can be successful here? Everyone for himself.

Therefore many think and the media says that I have betrayed the president or done something wrong. I acted strictly in accordance with the security law and with my civil conscience.

Today I am acting exactly as I did when I addressed the session. Therefore, I would like to say the following. The

Council of Heads of Republics and Heads of Administration adopted some basic resolutions.

These resolutions were precisely aimed at seeking an answer to the question: which house do we want to live in? We all used to live in one communal apartment, and an old man sat in the kitchen and gave orders on who could go where and how we should live. There is no old man today and no one knows how to live in this communal apartment. Some people have started jumping out of the window, some have started bumping into the window and no one can even begin to understand how to use the communal systems.

Therefore, I have a proposal and one appeal to make to you. Let's stop stirring up passions and fanning the flames of an already heated and far from simple situation. There are several versions of the draft resolution. Let's just stop. We are not talking today about some cadres somewhere.

We all—the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the president, or even the secretary of Security Council—share the same past and we can all work as we were taught to. We are all learning how to work now. Besides which, no one today can even say what corresponds to what because there is no system of administration.

Yuriy Semenovich Matochkin, the head of administration of Kaliningrad oblast, a man I respect very much, came to see me recently. He has the task of reconstructing a sea port. How would he have acted before? Very simply. There was a decree from the Central Committee of the Council of Ministers. Resources were allocated via the Gosplan, Ministry of Finance, and so on, the existing system of allocation and everything was built. Today relations are different. There is nowhere to go. Where does one obtain resources? Who allocates them? How can all this be carried out? And what about where power-engineering needs to be built?

I have already spoken about the health of the nation, the financial and economic system, the banking structure, the system of power supply and the ecological system.

We are heading for catastrophe. Let us stop. I, therefore, call upon you to stop the unnecessary attacks on each other—Congress on the president, president on the Congress. Today he showed loyalty and attempted to find a compromise. I am making a request to Congress as a secretary of the Security Council who knows the situation in the regions well and who well understands the essence of the processes going on in the Army - if I told you what is going on in the Army you would be horrified.

Look, we do not have a state. Do you not you realize this? So this is my request: Let us follow the normal procedure proposed by the Council of Heads of Republic, Heads of Administration and leaders of regions. All our life is being decided in regions. There the main burden of life falls. And if both the Congress and the country's political leadership demonstrate wisdom and espouse the path of constructive work together, maybe with mistakes, with misunderstandings—but constructive work—then we will resolve the impasse in real terms.

Let me say it again: there is no crisis of power. What we have is a crisis of state authority. Therefore, I would ask you be wise and attentive to each other and to respect each other. Thank you for your attention.

Rutskoy Delivers Speech

LD2603173593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1452 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Speech by Aleksandr Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Federation, at the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin, Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed President, Esteemed Presidium and People's Deputies: Let us try to understand why in society there is a growing confrontation, which was brought together by August 1991, the August of faith in the revival of Russia, truth, and justice. Why are the former fellow-travellers of Democratic Russia moving away from you, Mr. Democrats, and heading for the irreconcilable opposition? You need to ask that question too.

Maybe much of what I shall say will be impartial in this bitter and just truth. The main aim of my speech is to urge you who are present in this hall to make up your minds, nevertheless: How is life to proceed? Guided not by emotion and resentment but by common sense, to continue the showdown. What is already simply impermissible? To make amendments and additions to the Constitution, attempting to reduce it to the absurd, guided by the respect or the lack of respect of the current president. But, my friends, the Constitution is the basic law, and it is impermissible to take liberties with it, especially as regards the division of powers. No power must be reduced to being a decoration, nor even less so must it be transformed.

Executive and legislative power should not be turned into opposing soccer teams, forgetting that political life is not soccer. It is the fate of the people and the state, and one will know that one cannot play with the fate of the people and the state. Neither the Congress nor the president, nor the chairman of the Supreme Soviet should win or lose, and it is these terms that are used in the press, more and more often whipping up emotions. There is one participant who should win, its name is reason.

I have no doubt, no matter who we are in this state, we remain citizens of Russia, and we are deeply concerned and regret the present and the future of Russia, which can be clearly seen and which has no prospects, if the current crisis and political conflicts continue. Still we want one thing, both democrats and partocrats—as they are called: peace and well-being, happiness for ourselves and our children.

If you analyse the situation today you come to the conslusion that not all of us have learned the history of our own state. Not all of us have learned to draw lessons from it. Many have become distracted by the theme of democratic romanticism and attempted, and are still attempting, to repeat history: they are once more establishing the image of an enemy within Russian society. By bandying about these insulting labels for people they are negating the actions of whole generations. Reds, brownshirts, party nomenklatura, revanchists... If we go down this road we will still be able to paint the whole of Russia in red and brown.

What is happening to us has happened more than once in our history. First economic chaos, then legal and political chaos. Then, as now, the main principle was, and still is, the explanation of their miscalculations by the search for an enemy within and an enemy without, who was the cause of the misfortunes of the state. These methods are out of date and, to say the least, unwise, if only because history and none other will draw its conclusions and name those who destroyed and those who created.

It is time to stop. To go further in this direction is impossible, and simply dangerous, and this is clearly shown by the vividly expressed picture of confrontation at the walls of the Kremlin. We have already paid for the political adventurism of the clerk of works [prorab] of perestroyka and democratic sovereign romanticism with a high price—with the Soviet Union. Now we are paying the big bill of Russia. The state is being methodically changed into a heap of sovereign and independent territories. This process is being accompanied by so-called reforms. In fact, we have simply substituted these terms for the absurd word perestroyka. What is more, surely if these reforms were set off one by one against the most valuable things in our life—people and society—what argument could there be? Who is against a better life? Who is against political and economic freedoms? Who is against civilized entrepreneurship? Who is against democratic changes? Who is against reform of the law?

But people speak out against such conduct of reforms today, when changes are carried out not in the interests of the majority but of a minority, flagrantly robbing the people, totally disarming the army, pilfering the country and bringing it to a state of bankruptcy, incapable of providing for its citizens, asking for more and more credits and not even being in a position to pay the interest on old debts—a minority that feasts itself while it calmly contemplates the severe problems faced by the state, society, and the individual.

And we must not sustain the illusion that all these reforms are supported by the international community. We see how all the media ram home the support of the international community, but where is the support of the people of Russia? And it is time to demonstrate to the people itself a correctly chosen course, without doubting that the proposals of the president which were expressed at last today to form a government of national accord and people's trust will be supported by all, and this should have been done not today but a year and a half ago.

In addition, we have more than once assessed the activities of such government leaders as Gaydar, Nechayev, Burbulis, Chubays, Kozyrev, Makharadze, Shumeyko, and Khlystun. Some of them have gone. Some of them have realized their errors and are actively working to eliminate the results of their hasty actions, but those who swore that they would go have stayed, too, and are continuing their inconsistent, irresponsible, and precipitate actions, their politicking, their erosion of the remnants of the administrative system, and their discrediting of the ideas of reform, making not themselves but the nationally elected president hostage to this. It is they, and no one else, who are pushing the president—for one reason: in order to escape accountability. Instead of making sensible proposals about how to get out of this shameful situation we start sorting out our attitude to each other, up to and including insults.

If you want decisive actions, esteemed people, then act, measuring up what is desirable against what is possible, and when you are doing this imagine yourselves in the position of those who today are looking for housing, food, and medicines—and not on your salaries, but on a pension, a student grant, or an allowance, and people will be grateful to you. But you will never earn respect by looking for enemies of your homeland in order to justify your own unprincipled actions.

The statistical data on the state of the economy as a whole speak convincingly about where we are: industry and agriculture, the population's social situation. In this difficult situation the people are not expecting the legislative authority to produce addresses and appeals, meetings between leftwingers and rightwingers, or strikes in support of one lot or another; they expect one thing: that all branches of authority should get down to constructive work. Not in the interests of a lot of bribe-takers and profiteers, but in the interests of civilized, socially oriented market relations, in the interests of the entire Russian people.

When will we rid ourselves of extremism and radicalism and from fruitless experiments on our own people and finally gather the courage to show the door to all those figures who are provoking a deepening of the political and economic crisis in Russia, without forgetting to question them on their responsibility for what they've done, and not putting them out to grass in warm places—embassies, trade missions, concerns, foundations, and other organizations.

Esteemed deputies! The Constitution is one of the main matters for dispute today. In striving to build a democratic and law-governed state, which is undoubtedly our goal, we are forgetting that the construction of a law-governed civic society is no less important. Hence the squabbles, hence the deepening of the economic and political problems.

We have never lived by the law or the Constitution. We lived by slogans, declarations, by the law of the telephone call, yet we celebrate away the national 7 October as Constitution Day. And it is natural that the attempt to live by the law and the Constitution—an attempt which may be largely clumsy at the moment—has run into great difficulties. Hence also the trouble when the legislative or executive authority are drawn toward each other and try to grow together, when they replace each other in terms of various functions. Hence, naturally, the confrontation between executive and legislative authorities. In doing this all of them—legislative, executive, and judicial authorities—explain their actions by the need to ensure demarcation of the branches of authority.

But the people, you see, esteemed ones, do not understand this. So, let us move from talking about questions of the dividing up of powers. Let us find a way of dividing these powers and put those powers in conditions in which they will work efficiently. If the situation today keeps continuing in this key, then new rounds of political struggles await Russia in which not law, truth, and culture will win but one political opposition or another. As a result, state power may become concentrated in the hands of one politician or a narrow group of people who are keeping to a single political stand. And, esteemed deputies, you all understand perfectly well that that is nothing more than a dictatorship.

I will allow myself to remind you that it follows from the experience of history in the organization of state power that the division of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial is needed so that the shortcomings of the personality at the very top do not break the authorities and become defects of the state system. So, let us busy ourselves with that. One cannot therefore build anything on conflicts. The means, methods, procedures, and the stages in work like that should be defined in the form of a program. But we do not have one, as there is no economic program even now.

There is no need to look for who is to blame. We are all, both the legislative, and the executive, and the judicial authorities are to blame for that. Yes, we need a new constitution. But one cannot agree with those who believe that a constitution can be shaped according to someone's personality, even less so under pressure and in an unlawful manner.

The conclusions: I most earnestly request you to meet me half way and for all that to discuss what I propose because I am convinced of them—these are not just my ideas, because I mix both with the people's deputies and with the electorate who have, properly speaking, set out these conclusions and these proposals.

First, we must choose a path leading to a policy of national unity and accord.

Second, what we need is not an adjustment of reform but a reinterpretation and reorientation of reform toward the interests of the majority of the population, not in words but in deeds.

Third, it is essential to form a government of national accord and trust.

Fourth, there must be a critical analysis of the existing constitution and finalization of a new one reflecting the interests of the whole of our society and all branches of power.

Fifth, an anti-crisis economic program must be prepared without delay. We have such possibilities.

Sixth, there must be a Council of the Federation, esteemed People's Deputies, to stabilize the present political and economic situation, to implement the Federation Treaty, and to draw up conceptual and collegial decisions for the transitional period leading up to the adoption of the new constitution. This must be a stabilizing body, working out all sorts of decisions to be taken by top officials and by the legislative and executive branches in all subjects of the Federation. I realize that there will be objections to this. I ask you, please give me another two minutes.

[Khasbulatov] Carry on, please.

[Rutskoy] I realize that there will be objections to this. But how can we achieve compromise without consolidation of society and consolidation of all structures of power? This is not some kind of body which, or some kind of addition to the superstructure? This will be a collegial body made up of those people who currently hold office in the executive and legislative branches.

Seventh, to achieve civilized and vigorous cooperation geared to the implementation of democratic reforms, we must abandon the practice of holding temporary and parallel roundtables of various kinds in favor of a standing political council of parties and sociopolitical movements.

Eighth, nevertheless, to find a civilized solution to today's problem and to ensure, God forbid, that society is not forced into a showdown involving force, the referendum must be held on 25 April and early elections arranged - possibly for the autumn. I ask you to adopt such a decision and to proceed precisely in that way.

Finally, I speak of myself as a citizen and an individual, and not just the holder of the office of vice president. You saw what the mass media were saying today. Some areas of the mass media are committed not to freedom of expression but freedom to insult. Furthermore, gearing themselves, without any doubt, toward the objectives and directives of Poltoranin, one of our contemporary progressives, and the ideologists of Democratic Russia, they have cast doubt, to put it mildly, on my probity. There are more and more articles which call me dishonest, which suggest that I gave the President my word as an officer and did not keep it, and so on. They are even saying that I betrayed the president of Russia. You are presenting this as the main argument in favor of the vice president's resignation. I remind all those who want

this to happen that the vice president is not appointed but, under that same constitution which you dislike so much, is elected.

If the occupant of this post had been appointed, then I will be frank with you, I would have given it up long ago as it is impossible to calmly watch everything which is taking place, including the fact that the president's close entourage, the so- called close circle of the president is constantly blocking proposals and the work of the vice president. It has been forgetting to organize tasks in agriculture and the fight against crime and to create in this connection the relevant—and I stress relevant—conditions and the right of a consultative say in government. It has been banning my involvement in the day-to-day activities of ministries and departments. There is also open sabotage of those documents which are presented to different departments and then lie there for five or six months, and as a consequence, you see, the word goes around that the vice president is not carrying out his duties and is not keeping his word as an officer which he gave the president. You have probably already realized that the kind conclusion which is drawn is that the vice president should resign.

Yes, I gave my word to the president of Russia on the understanding that the president is not just one individual but the law and the constitution, and I am keeping this word because an officer's word is primarily honor and objectivity in evaluating what is taking place and it is not servility and hypocrisy. I did not give my word as an officer to those who mock and discredit the Russian idea. I did not give my word as an officer to those who excitedly conduct their political dealings in the economy and in the life of society. Their shady conduct is a story in its own right. They are fearful of a military coup. Therefore, they think it is their duty to blacken the name of a person and kick up a fuss, referring to his supposed dullness and aridity of thought.

You want to place me and the people who share my views in a humiliating position. I can tell you quite confidently that you will not succeed. I understand the way you feel perfectly well. I am in your way, I am in the way of your reckless actions. I shall depart only if the Congress of People's Deputies and the people, who elected the president together with the vice president, express no confidence in me. It is simply not my way to run just because it suits somebody.

In conclusion [applause], in conclusion I call on the people's deputies and all citizens of Russia to display wisdom and responsibility for their actions. God forbid that society should again be split into friends and enemies. Russia might not survive yet another revolution. We have it within ourselves to avoid this. This great country and great nation must be revived and not broken. Thank you. [applause]

Further on Rutskoy Address

OW2603171393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy spoke on Friday [26 March] at the 9th Congress of Russian People's Deputies of the necessity of holding a referendum April 25 and "possibly, early elections" this autumn.

Speaking before the deputies, the vice president proposed several measures which in his opinion, would help to overcome the political crisis in the country. The measures include "not correctives, but actually rethinking and re-orienting reforms," the formation of a government of "national reconciliation and confidence," "critical analysis" of the current Constitution and the development of a new one, preparation of an anti-crisis economic program, and the formation of a Council of the Federation, which during the transition period until the new Fundamental Law is approved, should become the stabilizing body of power. In addition to this, Rutskoy spoke in favor of discontinuing the practice of temporary "round tables" in favor of a permanent working political council of social forces.

The vice president opposed Russia's turning into "a pile of sovereign and independent territories." He also stated that current economic reforms were being carried out in the interests of the "minority, impudently stealing from the people."

Rutskoy called on the president's supporters not to feed illusions regarding the support of the world community, stating that "its time that the rightness of the chosen course is proven to the (Russian - IF [INTERFAX]) people themselves."

The vice president was sharply critical of President Yeltsin's advisers and those members of government who "continue to erode the remains of the system of governing, and discredit the idea of reform." It is exactly these people, in Rutskoy's opinion, who "push the president" to act beyond his powers. In conjunction with this Rutskoy said that it was necessary to hold them liable and "not to transplant them to warm spots."

The vice president thinks that the continuation of the current situation is fraught with new struggles and a possible dictatorship.

When speaking of the necessity of a new Constitution, Rutskoy stressed that it was impermissible to "fit a constitution to a personality."

In response to the accusation that he had acted dishonorably following Yeltsin's appeal to the people March 20, Rutskoy stated that "he had not given his word for someone to desecrate and discredit the Russian Idea," and that "to rush to please a person was not in his principles."

Congress Approves Resolution on 10 Oct Elections

OW2603160593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1555 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Out of ten drafts for a resolution "On Urgent Measures to Preserve the Constitutional System of the Russian Federation" submitted by the drafting commission, the Congress of People's deputies has chosen and essentially approved the one under which new parliamentary and presidential elections are to be held on October 10.

The resolution also stipulates that parliament must draft amendments to the Constitution under which a new two-chamber federal parliament would be set up as the supreme legislative body, the President's status would be given "a clearer formulation," the federal government would be vested with more extensive powers and its political responsibility to the people and parliament be given a more concrete formulation.

The amendments are to be drafted by a commission including representatives from the Supreme Soviet, the Constitutional Court, the republics of the Russian Federation, its various regions and territories, cities coming within federal jurisdiction, and autonomous areas. The commission's composition is to be approved by the congress.

Stepankov Favors General Observation of Constitution

LD2603161893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1608 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—Increasing legal nihilism and disrespect to law have resulted in neglect of the constitution, Russian Procurator General Valentin Stepankov told the evening Congress session.

"No matter how the constitution is described, one shall live in accordance to it, and introduce amendments or adopt a new constitution only on the basis of a legal mechanism," he said.

Noting the crisis was shaping up gradually, the procurator general recalled after the declaration on Russian sovereignty was adopted at the 1st Congress "we stopped feeling responsible for the preservation of Russia we declared independent and sovereign".

This resulted not only in disrespect to law, but also in unpopularity of protection of the constitution, said the official. In Stepankov's opinion, the process began with events in the former Chechen-Ingush Republic. "We are pretending the Dudayev regime is constitutional," he noted.

Speaking of the recent events, including actions of the Constitutional Court, Stepankov said "Valeriy Zorkin is, at least, sincere in his striving. Maybe, he was an unexperienced politician, maybe, he did not take into account his post of the Constitutional Court chairman. But he really wanted to the prevent a bigger trouble.".

Stepankov also said he himself proceeded from the obligation "to protect the constitutional system and lawfulness in Russia, warning the president against further steps that could lead to greater shocks, than we have today".

The procurator general supported "a number of stands, outlined by the Constitutional Court," including the need to put on the referendum the question of pre-term elections of the three power branches.

Comments on Zorkin, Constitution

OW2603182593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1755 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his speech to the congress, Russia's Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov defended chairman of Russia's Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin. He stressed that in Zorkin giving his evaluation of the president's appeal before the Constitutional Court's official ruling, he "was sincerely attempting to avert an even greater calamity."

In the prosecutor general's opinion, the current events in Russia were caused by a lack of respect for the Constitution. Stepankov further stated that he was not upset by the fact that he has joined his voice to those who have warned the president of his great mistakes. He supports the idea of early elections to all branches of power.

Dmitriy Volkogonov, a member of the president's council and of the deputy fraction "Left Center," expressed the view at the congress that Yeltsin's impeachment could lead to a "national split which is especially dangerous in a nuclear country." The deputy stated that the congress should give the president the opportunity of finding out "if the people trust him or not." Volkogonov also spoke in support of early elections to the presidency and parliament.

In his speech at the forum, a deputy from the Agrarian Union fraction, Vladimir Yegorov, called relations between Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov and President Boris Yeltsin a figurative punch in the stomach of the country. The deputy proposed that they both 'leave their lofty offices.'

In Yegorov's opinion, this would have a positive effect on the situation in the country and on the course of reform.

Secretary of the Russian Security Council, Yuriy Skokov, said in his speech to the congress, that there was no power crisis in Russia, but a crisis of statehood. He

called on deputies not to fire up passions and to end "unnecessary attacks on each other, the congress on the president and the president on the congress," and to move "towards a path of constructive creation."

Skokov disagrees with the opinion that he "betrayed the president." "I acted strictly in accordance with the law on security and with my civic conscience," he said.

Constitutional Court Judge Critical of Decision

LD2603231393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1610 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar— An appeal to the people, including an analysis of the current situation and the measures which the president is going to take, "cannot be regarded as a decision with legal force, producing immediate consequences interpretable in legal terms," Tamara Morshchakova, a judge of the Russian Constitutional Court, believes. She said in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent that "such consequences can only manifest themselves after the intentions expressed are materialized in practical measures and legal acts."

At the moment when it passed its ruling on the constitutionality of Boris Yeltsin's actions, the court did not have at its disposal any information confirming implementation of any practical steps in this respect, including legal acts being issued, she stressed. Therefore the court "should have confined itself to judging only the intentions publicly expressed by the president", the lawyer stated. The content of the president's appeal "does not make it possible to draw an unequivocal conclusion that his proposed measures are unconstitutional." As it is only a suggestion that the president's intentions were anticonstitutional, "the court has no right to deem them inconsistent with the Constitution," the lawyer concluded.

Shakhray, Filatov Assess Congress, Decrees

OW2603184093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sergey Shakhray, the vice-premier, the chairman of the state committee for ethnic policy and federal affairs, responsible for judicial aspects of major presidential decrees: First of all, deputies will decide on how to apply article 121-6, concerning the Presidential impeachment procedure. The next step will be to adopt a constitutional amendment, in accordance with which the vice- president takes over presidential powers, if the President is indeed impeached.

In such a volatile situation, Khasbulatov will hardly put the Presidential impeachment issue to a vote. It is not ruled out that suggestions will be voiced in Congressional halls that the President and the Chairmen of the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Court step down simultaneously.

Congressional debate on Presidential impeachment before April 25 would be unconstitutional. The Congress has no right to decide on whether to impeach the President since Boris Yeltsin himself has put this question to a referendum on April 25.

Sergey Filatov, the president's chief of staff: This congress will not be confrontational, nor should it have been held. Undoubtedly, the President must be given a chance to hold a vote on the constitution and other matters. Secondly, it's necessary to do what the federation members are offering today and to limit the Congress's opportunities to raise and examine questions: no key problem of national development can be solved without special preliminary study.

Deputies on Impeachment; Kostikov on Outcome

OW2603190793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Interfax correspondents selectively polled 30 deputies. 24 of them believe that the impeachment issue should be discussed at the Congress, 6 feel that such debate could be harmful.

Of the 30 deputies, 19 would vote for impeachment, 7 - against, and 4 have not made up their mind yet. However, of those 30 people, only 13 believe that impeachment will be declared in the long run. 11 are sure that the Congress will not get a qualified majority for that, and 6 refused to give their forecast.

Press-Secretary Kostikov believes that "the most conservative deputies will undoubtedly raise the presidential impeachment question, however, they will fail to receive a qualified majority in the voting." By expert calculations, the conservatives will be short of 50-100 votes to secure a two-third majority from the 1033 deputies of the Congress. In the opinion of other specialists, Khasbulatov will not risk putting the question to a vote since, as they believe, he realizes that he would become the next target for attack by the opposition.

Khasbulatov Vows Not To Vote To Impeach Yeltsin

OW2603174593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1726 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has stated that he will not vote to impeach President Boris Yeltsin. He said this in an exclusive interview with Interfax correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov on Friday [26 March] evening following the close of the first day of the 9th Congress of People's Deputies.

The head of Russia's parliament stressed that he is opposed to any extreme measures, including abolishing the institution of the presidency.

In addition to this, Khasbulatov said that he is worried that the feeling of fear among the deputies is being dulled. In his opinion, in their speeches, the deputies "do not give adequate estimation to the real attempt at a coup."

Further on Khasbulatov's Comments

OW2603204093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2023 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has stated that he will not vote to impeach President Boris Yeltsin. He said this in an exclusive interview with Interfax [IF] correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov on Friday [26 March] evening following the close of the first day of the 9th Congress of People's Deputies. In addition to this, Khasbulatov said that he is not satisfied with the course of work at the congress.

Although the final result will only be known tomorrow, today I was put on my guard, Khasbulatov stressed, since an understanding of the danger coming from the threat of a coup was not apparent in the deputies' speeches. This was exactly the reason for the 9th Congress, he remarked. The head of parliament emphasized that Boris Yeltsin's speech from December 10 and his recent televised appeal "are signs of anti-democratic degeneration."

Unfortunately the deputies, in Khasbulatov's opinion, are "getting accustomed to this fear." He said that he does not support extreme measures, such as abolishing the institution of the presidency, but he thinks it necessary "to make an adequate evaluation of the attempt at a real state coup, since one cannot get away from this." "And if we do not deal with this openly now, then specialists will verify this as a fact in a little while," Khasbulatov went on.

The parliament chairman further said that the dulling of fear among the deputies concerned him especially since there is a certain group of people "who clearly are pushing the president along such a path of events."

Charging the situation before the congress with tension, the attempt to inject into the social conscience the idea of the inevitability of the "awful events"—this is nothing other than a planned psychological act. When supporters of the coup met with a powerful rebuff, then they started to retreat, Khasbulatov is convinced. "We have on hand an attempt to vindicate themselves by muddling with documents—all this is a certain kind of convulsion," the parliament head thinks.

In our multi-ethnic society, the parliament chairman went on, the president should not have to strive to manage the entire mechanism. He should be in the role of "father of the nation, peace-maker in conflicts, and so on." For instance, "if parliament argues with the government, then the president should precisely determine who is in the wrong and show how to act in the situation." Already before elections were held Khasbulatov spoke of the president's role as arbitrator or peacemaker, "at that time we all dreamt of just this idea." However, "the habit of the first secretary of the regional committee (communist party - IF) to appoint even janitors, remains in our president. In all likelihood, one cannot outgrow a thirty- year-old habit," said the head of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

The parliament chairman called the proposal on creating a coalition government an "elegant idea" (Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy proposed this during his speech to the congress - IF). The realization of such an idea, Khasbulatov thinks, would mean salvation for the country. People would believe in the Cabinet of ministers, but in order to realize the idea of a coalition government, "the prime minister should not trudge along on the tail end of events, but behave courageously."

Khasbulatov called Aleksandr Rutskoy's speech at the congress an example of courage. "Someone should speak the truth, even if it turns out against us." The head of parliament remarked that he himself "not only does not fear having to resign, but will accept it gratefully."

Editorial Commission Says Referendum Question Solved

OW2603183193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1726 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The editorial commission of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies, which is discussing the draft decree by the forum on stabilizing the political situation in the country, is likely to work all night, since less than one third of its work has been completed. Interfax learned this from a member of the commission who wished to remain anonymous.

"Nevertheless," he stated, "at the moment the main question has been solved—on the referendum." If the congress agrees with the editorial commission, then the referendum will be held and three questions asked: on confidence in the president, on early elections to the presidency and deputy corps, and on agreement with the course of economic reforms. The date and final version of the questions for the referendum, in his words, have not yet been determined.

The deputy pointed out that while at work, the commission could change the decision, "although this is not very likely."

Broadcasting Freedom Draft Decision Circulated at Congress

LD2603205893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1752 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar—A draft decision "On Measures for Ensuring Freedom of Speech in the State Broadcasting Media" was circulated at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow today. Until the law "On the Organizational Structure of Broadcasting Media in the Russian Federation" is adopted, the draft document forbids executive bodies and officials, including the Federal Information Center, to interfere in the work of the state television and radio companies. It is determined that executive bodies and officials may not be founders of the state television and radio companies and information services and their founders' rights are to be transferred to the relevant bodies of representative power and local self-government. The draft decision orders that observers' councils for broadcasting media be set up under representative power bodies. It states that appointing and dismissing chiefs of state television and radio companies on the federal level is to be carried out by Russia's parliament in consultation with the observers' council.

Press Minister Criticizes Resolution

LD2603231893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By correspondent L. Panova; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The question of abolishing political censorship of state mass media, and of state television in particular, was included in today's Congress agenda on the initiative of Deputy Astafyev. It was adopted for examination and discussion in the form of a draft resolution of the ninth extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies entitled On Measures To Ensure Freedom of Speech in the State Broadcasting Media.

Mikhail Fedotov, minister for press and the mass media, considers that the adoption of the resolution would mean a complete monopoly being established over all the mass media by essentially a single body: the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. This is because the draft proposes placing all the mass media—which are now under the jurisdiction of the government—under the authority of bodies of representative authority and bodies of self-government.

[Begin Fedotov recording] Whoever is in command will naturally also implement their own policy. This draft contradicts the law on the mass media, first, and also the Constitution of the Russian Federation. I have warned them that it is purely confrontational and that it will evoke a very sharp reaction from journalists' collectives, not only in state television and in state information agencies; it will also evoke a similar reaction in other mass media as well. [end recording] [Video shows deputies in discussion and during Congress session; Fedotov being interviewed.]

Shumeyko Says First Day 'Has Led Nowhere'

OW2603204593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2024 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vladimir Shumeyko, First Deputy Premier, thinks that the first day of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies has led nowhere. He told journalists at the close of the Friday [26 March] session that "after Boris Yeltsin's address they could proceed to discussing a resolution draft."

Shumeyko also believes that the crisis in Russian society will not aggravate as a result of the Congress. He does not doubt that the voting on the resolution "will proceed calmly and we will know where Russia goes and what kind of government it will have."

In the view of the first vice-premier, the speech of Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy "reeked of a flea market haggler." Shumeyko disagreed with Rutskoy's argument that if some people are removed from the cabinet, everything will be alright, and if not, nothing good is going to happen.

Shumeyko does not support the idea of forming a coalition government because, in his view, there are no political parties with specific spheres of influence in the country or coalitions coalition worthy of that name.

The chief of the president's administrative staff Sergey Filatov told journalists in the lobby of the Congress that he also opposed the idea of a coalition government. "I am unaware of any occasion in the world when a coalition government pulled a country out of a crisis," he emphasized.

Stankevich, Others Comment on Support for Yeltsin

OW2603205593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2025 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sergey Stankevich, presidential advisor, thinks that the first day of the Congress has shown that, if anything, the president enjoys the support of 250 deputies. He thinks that this is enough to "forget about impeachment." Stankevich suggested that the president not reject the idea of early elections, voiced by Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin, but "reserves his opinion."

Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin noted that for the first time the microphones "were not completely dominated by joint opposition." In his words, "the deputies from remote areas understood that too much depended on them and corrected the situation." There was less criticism of the president, he thinks, during that day than at the preceding two Congress sessions.

Shokhin thinks the proposal that a Council of the Federation be set up seems to make sense. It could, he believes, be something like a senate which must wield broad powers and not let central authorities disturb the delicate balance of power.

Nikolay Pavlov, coordinator of the Russia faction in the Russian Unity coalition, is dissatisfied with the results of the first day. He told Interfax that the discussion was too general while only impeachment needed to be debated.

Pavlov declared that no compromise with Yeltsin was possible, "once the president tried to stage a coup."

Georgiy Zadonskiy, member of the reform coalition, is convinced that the Congress proceeds by Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov's script. Impeachment cannot be carried out, in his view, unless the Constitution is flagrantly violated, which the Congress has no legal arguments for.

He described the debates as an attempt to pressure the president. "The anti-presidential emotions, he thinks, are actually against authority as such."

Civic Union Supports Early Elections

OW2603172693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1340 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Civic Union, which unites several centrist parties and parliamentary factions, has accused Russian President Boris Yeltsin of using "typical old communist tactics of emergency measures and the quest for enemies." A statement distributed by the Civic Union press service claims that Yeltsin's appeal to the people caused the political situation in the country to deteriorate.

At the same time the Civic Union supported "the Constitutional Court's efforts to fortify lawfulness, consistently trying to ensure that the standards of the constitution are fulfilled by all state organs."

The Civic Union feels that only early parliamentary and presidential elections will solve Russia's political crisis.

Rutskoy-led Party Wants Early Elections

LD2603175593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] The Free Russia Popular Party [Narodnaya Partiya Svobodnaya Rossiya], which is headed by Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, has expressed itself in favor of simultaneous pre-term elections of the president, vice president, and people's deputies according to a document issued by the party's board and disseminated at the Ninth Congress.

RIA reports that the document calls on the Congress to adopt the amendments to the Constitution needed to hold pre-term elections, and to set a date for them.

Economist Backs Pre-Te m Elections

LD2603211693 Moscow ITAR-TAS, in English 2055 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Sizov]

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—Pre-term elections held in a year could be a democratic way out of the Russian constitutional crisis, believes renowned economist Grigory Yavlinskiy.

If the president becomes the guarantor of this process, the conflict between the power branches will be overcome, Yavlinskiy told correspondents in the congress lobby.

In his opinion, pre-term elections process is "crystallization of political parties, separation of new political movements, the appearance of alternative personalities and programs and discussion in society".

"The elections will signify the change of power bodies, we will no longer have to gather about 1,000 people to discuss important issues," he said.

Speaking of the date of pre-term elections, Yavlinskiy said it would be an optimum decision to hold them in a year. "The elections must not be held tomorrow, it would be a farce," he stressed.

The referendum, in his opinion, "is a rather dangerous thing". None can deprive the president the right to ask the people whether it has confidence in Boris Yeltsin, but it would be bad if Russia loses the president as result of the referendum. "I do not want this to happen," he said.

Deputies, Faction Leaders Discuss Expectations

OW2603172893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1339 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the National Salvation Front, Ilya Konstantinov, who heads the Parliamentary Russian unity bloc opposed to the President, has told Interfax that he is against bringing up the issue of impeaching Boris Yeltsin for debate at the Congress. In his opinion, the President could have really been removed from power only on the day after his televised address to the citizens of Russia on March 20. However, Khasbulatov, in Konstantinov's words, did not do so, and "struck a deal with the President."

Konstantinov is convinced that Khasbulatov is least of all interested in impeaching Boris Yeltsin because "Aleksandr Rutskoy would apparently be elected as new head of state, and his relations with the Parliamentary speaker are far from cloudless." He believes that "Yeltsin, who has discredited himself, suits Khasbulatov far more than loyal and popular Rutskoy."

In connection with the last government reshuffle, Konstantinov did not rule out that the opposition would be offered "secondary portfolios," however he doubted that Presidential opponents would agree to join the cabinet.

In an interview with Interfax, deputy Valeriy Shuikov (Change - New Policy faction belonging to Civic Union) welcomed the Constitutional Court chairman Valeriy Zorkin's proposal to settle the current crisis between the top branches of power and to hold early parliamentary and presidential elections in the autumn of this year. He is flatly against Boris Yeltsin's continuing as president. He described him as man "who changes his positions so often that cannot hold office at such a political level."

Zorkin's proposal was also favored by Russian communist party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov. As for early elections, he has no doubt that the communists will secure a parliamentary majority. In his opinion, the ideas of social justice and equality are becoming increasingly more attractive to the population.

In an interview with Interfax, member of the democratic factions alliance, Peter Filipov, also voiced the apprehension that early elections this year could be victorious above all for those "who will promise cheap sausage and vodka to the population."

Communist Faction Leader Favors Impeachment

OW2603175593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1725 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Leader of the Communists of Russia fraction and one of the leaders of the Russian Unity opposition bloc, Gennadiy Saenko, in a speech to the emergency Congress of People's Deputies, called removing President Boris Yeltsin from power "the only reliable solution" which the forum could accept.

The deputy proposed appealing to the Russian Constitutional Court for it to rule on the constitutionality of removing the president from power. In Saenko's opinion, since the president was elected by a simple majority (and not a qualitative, constitutional majority of two thirds), only a simple majority of deputies' votes should be necessary to impeach him. The deputy also proposed that Yeltsin himself choose to resign.

Speaking during discussion at the congress, people's deputy Iona Andronov called Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev a "traitor" and one of the main guilty parties in the current political crisis in Russia. The deputy said that the minister, during his recent negotiations in Washington and in public speeches, agitated "against the people themselves." Quoting several statements by officials in the United States on events in Russia, Andronov stated that having read them, he experienced a "feeling of humiliation."

Andronov warned that regardless of whether Yeltsin removes "traitor-minister" Kozyrev, he planned to vote to impeach the president.

Rallies, Demonstrations Around Country Reported

Continue Outside Kremlin

LD2603155793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Mar 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] As in August 1991, the Russian people, have come out in defense of their president at a critical moment. Today, at the opening of the extraordinary Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, at Vasiliyevskiy Slope, by the Kremlin walls, a rally in support of Yeltsin began and will continue.

But here, too, there is confrontation. The National Salvation Front, the Rebirth Party and the Working Russia [Trudovaya Rossiya] Party are demanding that the president be stripped of his powers.

The rally, on the other hand, is calling on each of us to decide what we want: a nationwide elected president, whose guilt is that he spoke directly to the people, or the Congress and Khasbulatov, who have refused the people the right to a referendum. Most of those present are demanding a referendum and are placing their one hope on this.

Each hour, from 1000 to 1800, a column of ralliers is forming up at the square in front of the Moscow council and marching to the place where the rally is to be held. Although it is expected that the culmination of the development of events will be closer to the evening, it is already clear here that the defenders of the president are in the majority.

Said To Be 'Very Calm'

LD2603195693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By correspondent S. Milyanchikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Although it was stated not long before the lunch break at the Congress that spontaneous rallies taking place on Vasiliyevskiy Spusk were becoming uncontrollable, the situation here by the Kremlin walls was very calm. Neither the supporters nor the opponents of the Congress attempted to break through the militia cordons, although there was some competition to see who could shout the loudest.

True, later in the afternoon reinforcements began to join both sides. Democrats gathered on the square near the Moscow City Council and moved in organized columns toward the Kremlin. Supporters of the Congress chose Zamoskvarechye as their assembly place. Additional militia forces, including some on horseback, were brought in to prevent any possible disorder. There was a wide variety of slogans, appeals and curses, some of which might even have been unacceptable under criminal legislation. As always, Viktor Anpilov was especially outspoken. And so the deputies leaving the Kremlin tried to dash along this corridor of disgrace as fast as they could. [Video shows large groups of demonstrators carrying banners, speaking through amplifiers, marching, mounted militia, deputies walking away from Kremlin along a corridor between cordoned-off groups of demonstrators.]

Pro-Yeltsin Rally in Krasnodar

OW2603193993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1759 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A rally called by a Support the President Committee and numerous democratically-oriented parties was held outside the Krasnodar Territorial Council building Friday [26 March].

The rally was attended by representatives of the Kuban Cossack voisko (ruling body) under Ataman Nagai which had pledged its unwavering support to the president. The alternative voisko, headed by Ataman Gromov, intends to make up its mind on the situation in the country at an emergency session of their Rada (council) where local atamans are invited.

Meanwhile the local justice department has filed a court case demanding a ban on the activities of Nagai's voisko which is accused of breaking its own charter and Russian legislation, an attempt to introduce the state of emergency in the Kuban region, and unlawful storage of weapons.

Demonstrators Demand Dissolution of Congress

OW2603194393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1759 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] About 1000 Yekaterinburg inhabitants (regional center in the Urals), at a demonstration on Friday [26 March] in support of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, demanded that the plebiscite announced by Yeltsin be held, that the Congress of People's Deputies be dissolved and that a new Constitution be approved. Having gathered upon the initiative of the Fund in support of the first president of Russia, workers, officials, students and pensioners recited slogans such as "Down with Khasbulatov," "Fire Zorkin" and "Yes to the President!"

On Sunday in Yekaterinburg there will be a demonstration as part of the all-Russian rally in support of the president.

Rally To Continue Until Congress Ends

LD2603230393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1907 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar—The people rallying on the Vasilevskiy slope outside the Kremlin apparently intend to "stand guard" here until the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies ends. At least, their leaders are showing a determination to do so. Outside the Moscow Soviet buildings on Tverskaya Street, the public committee of democratic organizations is hourly forming up columns of its supporters, who are coming out in defense of President Yeltsin, in favor of holding the April referendum, and against the "usurpation of power by the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet." The columns are being dispatched in an organized manner to the rallying spot. The communists, however, are calling for President Yeltsin to resign. According to the duty officer and the Public Relations Center of Russia's Ministry of Internal Affairs, the situation on the Vasilevskiy slope is normal and is being supervised by the law enforcement bodies. There has so far not been a single clash between the opposing forces.

Sixty Percent of St. Petersburg Supports Yeltsin

OW2603193193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president's representative in St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region, Sergey Tsyplyaev, is doubtful that the congress will succeed in impeaching the president. Speaking on Friday [26 March] at a press conference in St. Petersburg, he stated that deputies lacked both the formal reasons (ruling by the Constitutional Court) and technical reasons (two thirds of the vote or 689 deputies) to impeach the president.

When speaking of the situation in the city, the president's representative said that about 60% of the city's inhabitants supported the president. He stressed that during congresses, when voters clearly see the upheaval of the political struggle between the executive and legislative branches, the president's rating in St. Petersburg as a rule goes up.

Poll Shows Majority Sympathetic Toward Yeltsin

OW2603205393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2025 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The most recent social poll taken in Moscow March 25 by the Independent Institute of Parliamentarianism Sociology (lead by Nugzar Betaneli) among 1000 Muscovites, testifies to the growing politicization and polarization in society.

Presently about 70% of Moscow's voters have been drawn into the conflict between Russia's legislative and executive branches: 55% are sympathetic with Yeltsin, 6% with the Congress and Russian parliament, and 12% have not yet made up their minds. A total of 27% remain outside the conflict and are not on either side.

In response to the question regarding the 9th Congress of People's Deputies, 68% of those polled did not have confidence in the deputy corps, 10% were confident in them, and 22% had difficulty responding.

A total of 55% of respondents support the Russian president's appeal to the people from March 20, 13% do not support it, 12% knew nothing about it, and every fifth person (20%) could not answer.

The Constitutional Court's ruling, which acknowledged certain provisions of the president's appeal unconstitutional, was called correct by only 9% of those polled, incorrect by 50%, while 10% knew nothing about it and 31% had difficulty answering.

A total of 46% of Muscovites do not trust chairman of the Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin, 12% do trust him and 42% could not determine their feelings about him.

The idea of removing President Yeltsin from power (impeaching him) was met with disapproval by the majority (65%) of Moscow's voters. Only 10% think positively of the idea. Six percent of those polled said that they were not worried about it, and another 19% had difficulty answering.

The conflict among the various branches of power has greatly intensified political activity among voters: over the past two weeks the percentage of Muscovites planning to vote in the all-Russian referendum April 25 has risen from 42% (March 11) to 71% (March 25). Twenty percent do not plan to vote, and 9% could not answer.

At the same time the majority of Muscovites (60%) will vote "for" confidence in Yeltsin, 10% "for" no confidence in him (against) and 30% could either not answer or will not be voting period.

Half of Muscovites link their hopes for the end of the current crisis in Russia with President Yeltsin, 14% believe Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin is their man, 8% have faith in Vice President Rutskoy, 2% in Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin, and only 1% in parliament chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov. Nineteen percent of those polled do not link there hopes with any one person and 20% could not answer.

"The Yeltsin phenomenon" is working for the umpteenth time. As before, at the critical moment in a conflict, the president's ratings go up rapidly: over the past two weeks alone, the percentage of Muscovites who view the president's actions as "positive" or "with positive interest" has grown from 36% (March 11) to 53% (March 25).

Sverdlovsk Council Wants President, Congress To Compromise

OW2603213693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Minor Council of the Sverdlovsk Regional Council has urged the president and Congress of People's Deputies to make a compromise.

The council insists that the congress stop its search for "stabilization" measures, in which case the council would support the president's proposal for holding a plebiscite. If the conflict continued exacerbating, however, all branches of state authority should be re-elected before their terms expire, the council believes.

At the same time, the council expressed its disapproval of the resolution of the Eighth Congress and the form in which the president made his March 20 appeal calling them destabilizing factors.

The council recommends that the president and the Supreme Soviet take into consideration the opinions of all constituent units of the Russian Federation and do not endorse any amendments to the Constitution unless they have been approved by the majority of those units.

Meanwhile, the Yekaterinburg City Council, qualifying the situation in Moscow as a power crisis, protested against the possible impeachment of the president, and demanded that a referendum be called on whether the Congress of People's deputies should exist any longer and on whether a "professional" parliament should be elected.

Republics Seen Speaking From Position of Strength

MK2703113093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Mar 93 p 1

[Radik Batyrshin report under the general headline "President Reaffirms His Viewpoint, But Starts Government Reshuffle"]

[Text] President Mikhail Nikolayev of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) said in an interview for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA that if the congress rejects the draft proposed by the Soviet of the Federation, it would be the last congress in Russia's history. According to Nikolayev, the Republic of Sakha is preparing to take appropriate steps in case the deputies should block that move. Speaking about the referendum and the draft Constitution proposed by the president, Mikhail Nikolayev said that at the moment he was familiar only with general

principles of that Constitution. It is essential that the president explain to the republics his stance on the new Fundamental Law before the referendum or vote takes place. In the near future, Nikolayev said, the Council of Heads of Republics would meet to discuss the possibilities of overcoming the crisis whatever the outcome of the congress. However, Farid Mukhametshin, chairman of the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet, told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA: "We have not signed the Soviet of the Federation's draft." According to the chairman, this draft infringes on the rights of both the congress and the president, and therefore it will not be surprising if it is rejected by the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies. But at the same time, Mukhametshin added, definitive assessments should wait because events have only just started to unfold.

The first day showed that if at the previous congress the periphery just stated its intentions, now it is speaking from a position of strength. This is confirmed not only by Nikolayev's stance, but also by an episode involving the Soviet of the Federation's draft. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA learned that late at night on 24 March that draft was proposed to Yeltsin, Zorkin, and Khasbulatov. The first two approved of it in principle. The congress' reaction, however, will not be known until today.

Moscow Poll Shows 50 Percent Support for Yeltsin

MK2603092493 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 25 Mar 93 p 2

[Oleg Savelyev report under the "Social Barometer" rubric: "Heroes of Our Time"]

[Text] During a representative street poll conducted among Muscovites by the National Public Opinion Research Center on 22 March, the question: "What political figure do you trust now most: Yeltsin, Zorkin, Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, Chernomyrdin, or none of them?" produced the following answers:

Yeltsin	50
Rutskoy	9
Chernomyrdin	5
Zorkin	3
Khasbulatov	1.5
Do not trust any of them	29
Not sure	about 3

Those who make up a relative majority among Boris Yeltsin's supporters are students, entrepreneurs, and other people employed outside the state economy, and also the military, and militia officers.

More often than others, Aleksandr Rutskoy enjoys the confidence of housewives, workers, managers of various ranks, the military, and militia officers.

Viktor Chernomyrdin commands relatively high support also among the military and militia officers, housewives and pensioners, and generally among those polled aged 40 years and over and those with secondary or vocational training school education.

Unfortunately, sociology does not have high-precision measurement methods applicable to tiny quantities. This is why the makeup of Valeriy Zorkin's and Ruslan Khasbulatov's supporters is impossible to analyze.

Local Official Views on Crisis Surveyed

PM2603131193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Feature comprising reports from Anatoliy Usoltsev in Chelyabinsk, Andrey Shishov in Nizhniy Novgorod, Yuriy Shatalov in Perm, Valeriy Yaroslavtsev in Krasnoyarsk, and Yevgeniy Skukin in Irkutsk: "What Russia Thinks. Own Correspondents Report"]

[Text] **Chelyabinsk: We Will Defend the Constitution**

An oblast committee to defend the constitution and soviet power has been set up in Chelyabinsk. It comprises representatives of political parties and public movements. Members of the committee organized a briefing at which where they acquainted mass media personnel with their stance, which boils down to the following:

"The constitutional crisis has split society. In our view, there is still the possibility of a peaceful solution to the conflict. That is the direction in which the committee is acting. We will strive to secure the observance of the current constitution and support soviet power, but we are convinced that the people's deputies are just as responsible as the president for the mistakes that have been made. They should resign with him."

The committee has produced a pamphlet containing an appeal to the citizens of the oblast urging the people of the Urals to "defend soviet power—the only guarantee of constitutional legality countering the policy of plundering the people." The committee members organized around-the-clock manning of telephones, and collected and summarized their fellow townspeople's opinions regarding the events taking place. The writer Gennadiy Suzdalev said at the briefing that people take different views of the president's statements. But there are virtually no pensioners or war and labor veterans among his supporters. The underprivileged strata of the population are saying "no" to the reforms being implemented in the country.

Nizhniy Novgorod: Voice of the Local Press

NIZHEGORODSKIY RABOCHIY [Nizhniy Novgorod Worker] has published a joint statement by city and oblast leaders on the situation that has developed. It speaks of the need to strengthen executive power and of willingness to hold the nationwide vote.

The oblast deputies' NIZHEGORODSKIYE NOVOSTI [Nizhniy Novgorod News] gave a platform to representatives of the local authorities. Oblast Soviet Chairman Yevgeniy Krestyaninov accused the "Itogi" TV program of providing unqualified and biased coverage of events. This has elicited a definite reaction from people toward Boris Yeltsin. We support the president in his desire to organize normal economic transformations and stable working of the government within the framework of the law, Yevgeniy Krestyaninov concluded.

Perm: Preventing a Split in Society

The Perm Oblast Inner Soviet said that attempts to resolve the political crisis by removing the president from his post or dissolving organs of representative power will cause a split in society and the breakup of the state.

Oblast Administration Head V. Kuznetsov also appealed to the population. Urging the people of Perm to keep calm, he remarked in particular that the president's appeal to the people was an inevitable step. It was predetermined by the fact that the president has been unable to reach a compromise. V. Kuznetsov thinks that the appeal was also brought about by the need to preserve the course of reform.

Krasnoyarsk: Referendum Is Way To Break Deadlock

A referendum is the way to break the deadlock. That is the opinion of Valeriy Zubov, acting head of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Administration, Vyacheslav Novikov, kray soviet chairman, and Yuriy Moskvich, the president's representative in the kray. They each held press conferences at which they voiced their opinion of the situation that has developed within the top echelons of power.

Members of the Kray Inner Soviet drew the same conclusion.

All three officials voiced concern at the situation and the extremely sharp confrontation between branches of power, and stressed their firm intention of being guided by existing laws and the constitution.

V. Zubov said that in any case as leader of the kray executive he is also obliged to follow the president's edicts. He emphasized that the political crisis within the top echelons of power is destabilizing the situation within the country and distracting people from resolving the practical tasks of economic reform.

Yu. Moskvich, the president's representative in the kray (who is also chairman of the Council of the Russian President's Representatives and a member of the Supreme Soviet Constitutional Commission), said that a very important trump card has been put on the table—the constitution. A referendum is the way to break the deadlock. The president's representative urged the people of Krasnoyarsk to peacefully and legally voice their view of Boris Yeltsin's actions and the laws put to the nationwide ballot 25 April.

In V. Zubov's opinion, questions directly connected with the people's confidence in existing federal organs of power and the basic provisions of Russia's state system should be included on the agenda.

I think that the Congress made a mistake in canceling the referendum, V. Novikov said. But only two questions should be put to the referendum: Do you trust the president and do you trust the Congress of People's Deputies? That is essential because, in the opinion of the kray soviet chairman, the crisis in the country is not a constitutional crisis, but an anticonstitutional crisis since no organ of power and management has avoided breaches of the existing constitution.

The Inner Soviet of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet of People's Deputies also came to the same conclusion after contradictory debates.

Since the president's appeal concerns not only the foundation of the constitutional system, but also the interests of subjects of the Federation, V. Novikov said, I think that any actions in this direction should at least be coordinated with these subjects. The Federation Treaty after all acquired the force of law after its provisions were incorporated in the Constitution. A council of the heads of representative and executive power in the subjects of the Russian Federation should be assembled; it must talk to the Supreme Soviet and the president and find joint ways of solving the crisis.

The Kray Inner Soviet adopted the proposal for this council to be convened within 10 days in Krasnoyarsk.

Irkutsk: Scapegoat?

It is clear that People's Deputy Yuriy Nozhikov, head of the Irkutsk Oblast Administration, finds himself in the shaky position of a scapegoat. In his television address to the people last Saturday President Boris Yeltsin said that Nozhikov was being removed from his post.

This, however, came as a bolt from the blue for the leaders of 33 major enterprises in the Transbaykal. Categorically objecting to the removal of an entirely competent administration head, they said in their appeal that this is nothing more than a matter of reprisals against a leader who has his own position in relations with the federal authorities.

Igor Shirobokov, the president's representative in the oblast, described what had happened as madness. "We condemn an edict," he stressed, "which no one has seen, an edict based on the findings of a commission of which we only know by hearsay."

It turns out that people in Moscow know about this strange commission. A spokesman for the president's apparatus speaking recently on television said that Nozhikov has not been released but removed from his post following the results of a check carried out by the

Control Directorate of the president's administration. This check revealed a breach of legislation in the sphere of foreign economic activity. The materials have, moreover, supposedly been handed over to the Russian Prosecutor's Office.

You might have thought this all was very convincing, but... it transpires that neither the oblast prosecutor's office, nor the Ministry of Security [oblast] directorate, nor the regional directorate for combating organized crime are in possession of this material, as Irkutsk Oblast Prosecutor Yu. Chayka, V. Shestak, head of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security Irkutsk Oblast Directorate, M. Nikiforov, head of the oblast internal affairs administration, and A. Yegorov, head of the regional directorate for combating organized crime, said.

But Yuriy Nozhikov himself takes a dialectical view of Boris Yeltsin's decision: "Yeltsin threatened me before when disputes arose over fundamental issues. The president has the right to remove me since he appointed me. However, the oblast soviet can in that case announce an election of the administration head. And it is no less desirable for me than for the president to obtain confirmation from the people of their trust or otherwise in me."

Regional Leaders Plan To Circumvent Yeltsin Special Rule

PM2603130193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 93 p 3

[Igor Lenskiy report: "The Russian Republics Are Against the Constitution's Being Rushed"]

[Text] Saturday's television broadcast generated no enthusiasm at all in Russia's constituent republics. Sensing the threat of approaching authoritarianism, they all sought protection under their own constitutions and laws. "We have lived and will continue to live according to our own constitution," Tatarstan President M. Shaymiyev stated. "No directive contrary to the Constitution and laws of Chuvashia, wherever it comes from, will be executed," V. Viktorov, chairman of the Chuvash Council of Ministers, warned. "No special rule will be introduced in Kabardino-Balkaria," G. Gubin, vice president of the Karbardino-Balkar Republic, snapped.

"The virtual introduction of dictatorship" was how M. Rakhimov, chairman of the Bashkortostan parliament, viewed Yeltsin's intention. Special rule produced dismay in M. Nikolayev, president of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Yeltsin's appeal was regarded with varying degrees of severity by the parliaments and governments of Karelia, Mordova, Buryatia, Khakasia, and Tuva.

While unanimously condemning the planned usurpation of power, the leaders of the republics also regarded with understanding Boris Yeltsin's desire to clarify the situation regarding confidence in him. The question is only what form this is to take. Perhaps an early general election?!

The arrangements for voting on the new draft Constitution and the law on elections to the federal parliament are deemed hasty in the republics. An agreed stance was adopted on this topic, which worries everyone, by the heads of Russia's constituent republics in Moscow just before the Eighth Congress. There are two key points. The first is to promote the adoption of a Russian Federation law on the principle and the mechanism for implementing the Federation Treaty and to create a commission to elaborate such a draft law under the chairmanship of the president. The second is to announce a moratorium on holding referendums for the duration of this activity in 1993-1994. "Boris Yeltsin has supported this idea," his press secretary, V. Kostikov, responded at the time.

As we know, the Eighth Congress carried out virtually in full the wishes of the heads of the republics. Pitfalls still lay ahead: Some people think it essential to include the Federation Treaty in the future Constitution; others, like, for example, Tatarstan, prefer a bilateral treaty basis to it. The commission formed by the Congress has not, however, managed to start work, as Yeltsin is proposing that the new draft Constitution be hastily voted on on 25 April. Naturally, the heads of the republics, removed from this activity, regard this ploy as obstruction. "If the principles of the Constitution are to be discussed, it can only be after careful preparation, and not impulsively," M. Shaymiyev said with justifiable indignation.

In these circumstances the republics' desire to live first and foremost according to their own constitutions, avoiding President Yeltsin's high-handedness, is understandable. It is more reliable that way, although it does not, of course, enhance the durability of the Russian Federation.

Army Said 'Calm' as Democrats Side With Defense Ministry

MK2603135293 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 26 Mar 93 p 2

[Dmitriy Kholodov report under the rubric "Nonstop Around the Clock": "The Military Away From War"]

[Text] "We are extremely indignant at Rutskoy's actions. He has no moral right to hold the office of vice president," declared participants in yesterday's press conference called by the "Shchit" union and independent trade unions of the military.

Democrats in the military voiced, for the first time, complete agreement with the Defense Ministry. "Khasbulatov has launched an open assault on the 'power' ministers. Their refusal to side with the deputies infuriated the speaker. We regard as insulting Khasbulatov's rejoinder to the defense minister at the Supreme Soviet session last Sunday. We demand that the chairman apologize to Pavel Grachev," said Aleksandr Zhilin, chief editor of the independent newspaper, ARMIYA ROSSII.

Owing to Pavel Grachev's efforts to protect the military from politicians, the Army remains calm for the present. More, as we have learned, many military units, contrary to expectations, are being withdrawn from Moscow. Some small tank and artillery units of the Taman and Kantemir divisions have left for target practice at the Gorokhovets training ground. The motorized rifle brigade based in Teplyy Stan, 20 km from downtown Moscow, has also left for the military district's training ground. In the opinion of the Defense Ministry press service, this is due to preparations for the spring inspection—a sort of exam the military takes twice a year.

Incidentally, Deputy Astafyev can sleep peacefully—snowplows are being pulled out from the capital's downtown district too—there is less snow around.

Politicians Told To Leave Army Alone

PM2903104593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 93 p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Aleksandr Golts article under "Topic of the Week" rubric: "Maybe It's Time To Stop Hassling the Army?"]

[Text] It has been recorded that many chronic lingering illnesses get worse in the spring and fall. Namely bronchitis, stomach ulcers, schizophrenia, and, over the last few years, political confrontation in Russia. This latter ailment has, moreover, one highly characteristic symptom during the period of deterioration: Politicians, political scientists, journalists, and newspaper readers suddenly start asking the same questions: "How will the army act? Whom will it support and how? Are we not threatened with a military coup?" Despite the fact that clear, precise answers have been provided to these questions on dozens of occasions. The main one being that the army has no intention of interfering in the political skirmish since it is perfectly well aware that any attempt to resolve this crisis by force will spell catastrophe for the country. And yesterday's issue of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA once again provided exhaustive comment on this.

But today, when another extraordinary congress has begun its work, these now ritual questions are being heard over and over again. The people asking these questions and demanding guarantees as to the army's possible actions are forgetting or refusing to realize that they are thus directly humiliating the Armed Forces. To call a spade a spade, all this means just one thing. Politicians suspect that the military will prove to be bad citizens, breach the law, and commit a crime of state.

It is permissible to ask whether there are any grounds for this. We are after all, thank God, not living in a "banana republic" where military coups occur with the regularity of monsoon rains. There is nothing in the traditions of the Russian Army to say that it should act as a decisive force in the politicians' struggle. It was, incidentally, the events of August 1991, to which many people are now referring, that demonstrated this. What then is the origin of all these suspicions?

In my view, we are dealing with a classic trick of the subconscious, straight out of Freud. When in the form of denial or fear a person voices his most cherished desires—desires that he may not even fully understand. Thus, today Russia has been brought to obvious political deadlock. This has happened not only owing to an inability to overcome the objective difficulties of development by normal means. This has happened to a considerable extent because of the politicians' own ambitions, their desire to squeeze out their rival by any means, even today.... Now that objective difficulties have been added to the passions, it has proved extremely difficult to seek a way out of the deadlock.

This can, indeed, be sought in the field of state law. But that is only feasible if there is a legal base wherein one legislative provision does not contravene another. It is very obvious from the recent statements made by the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Soviet, and the president that the Constitution in its current form allows any interpretations, including those directly opposed to one another. Consequently, it would be very hard for each of the sides to prove to the public that the other is guilty of violating the Fundamental Law. A lengthy, public inquiry is needed to reduce the mutual accusations to a common denominator, an inquiry, which, as I see it, no one has any intention of setting up. Consequently, it is extremely difficult to resolve the crisis by legal means and decide who is innocent and who is guilty.

There is a political solution that would boil down to compromise of one kind or another between the authorities. I would hope that this compromise will be found at the congress now under way. Right now, however, as I write this article, that kind of solution can only be discussed in theory. After all, over the last few weeks the scope for seeking consensus has diminished like the peau de chagrin [shagreen in Balzac novel that kept diminishing in size]. Of course, if you carefully analyze the statements made at the Congress by the main protagonists in this political drama—Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and Zorkin—along with the speeches by the people's deputies, you can see that the possibilities for compromise have not yet been exhausted. Do they, however, want to avail themselves of these opportunities?

A direct appeal to the will of the people seems the most feasible way out of the situation that has emerged: be it early elections or a referendum. However, even that seemingly simple solution makes it necessary for the parties to the conflict to reach agreement. If only on the forms, means, and timeframes for holding the ballot. That too is difficult given the current intensity of emotion.

It is in this extremely complicated situation—from both the political and legal viewpoint—that our politicians are starting to experience a subconscious desire for

something to happen to "detonate" the situation. Something that would sort everything out clearly and precisely. Something that would show very obviously who is violating the law and who is defending it. Something that would bolster the mutual accusations of an anticonstitutional plot. Only strong-arm intervention could be that kind of "deus ex machina."

All this in my view fosters the constantly circulating fears/hopes that the army will leave its barracks with or without orders. All these fears/hopes can be explained. There is an extremely low level of political culture here and an infantile lack of readiness to resolve crises in a civilized manner.

This, I repeat, can be explained. I don't want to make excuses. Because we are talking about people who have set about putting our country on the road to civilization. And it is simply immoral for them to transfer their own problems to the army, to the most important institution in the state which was, is, and will be the guarantor of stability in Russia during this difficult time. It is time for the politicians to leave their complexes behind and at least stop hassling the army at or without the behest of the "power" ministers.

Ninth Congress of People's Deputies 27 March Session

Drafting Committee Proposes Resolution on 25 Apr Referendum

LD2703065793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0635 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar—The Drafting Committee of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies has proposed that Boris Yeltsin and Ruslan Khasbulatov simultaneously resign. The draft resolution "On Urgent Measures for Preservation of the Constitutional System of the Russian Federation," which was circulated to deputies, blames both leaders for the present confrontation of the two branches of power. The document proposes to "deem the violation of the Russian Federation's Constitution by the president of the Russian Federation unacceptable."

The draft proposes that all the presidential bodies of state power should be entrusted to the Council of Ministers with simultaneous abolition of the Federal Information Center. The Drafting Committee also proposed a draft resolution on the 25 April referendum to which the following questions should be brought:

1. Do you trust President B.N. Yeltsin?

2. Do you support the course towards social and economic reforms being implemented under the leadership of the Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin?

3. Do you believe it is necessary to hold pre-term elections of the Russian Federation president in 1993?

4. Do you believe it is necessary to hold pre-term elections of the peoples' deputies of the Russian Federation in 1993?

The Drafting Committee proposes to establish that decisions on the question which would be brought to the referendum should be considered adopted if more than half of the electorate have voted in favor of these.

Congress Considers Resolution

OW2703100193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0937 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In addition to the draft resolution "On Urgent Measures to Preserve the Constitutional System of the Russian Federation," another draft has been put before the Congress of People's Deputies, one for a resolution on the national referendum of April 25, 1993.

Here are its points:

"With the aim of overcoming the political crisis in the Russian Federation and taking into consideration the proposals of the president for holding a referendum on confidence in the head of state, the Congress of People's Deputies hereby decrees:

"I. To hold a general referendum on the entire territory of the Russian Federation on Sunday, 25th April 1993, on the following questions:

"1. 'Do you trust Boris Yeltsin as President of the Russian Federation?';

"2. 'Do you support the policy of socio-economic reforms pursued under the guidance of Boris Yeltsin as president of the Russian Federation?'

"3. 'Do you believe a new election of the president of the Russian Federation should be held in 1993?';

"4. 'Do you believe new elections of people's deputies of the Russian Federation should be held in 1993?';

"Each question at the referendum shall be printed on a separate ballot paper."

Under the draft resolution, for a decision on each question to be taken more than half of the votes of citizens eligible to be included in the voting lists, ie 50 percent plus one vote, would have to be cast in favor of it.

Organization of the referendum would be entrusted to the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, which would have to approve the standards and text for the ballot papers no later than April 2.

The Supreme Soviet would have to establish regulations ensuring equal opportunities for both parties to use the mass media.

The government would have to make decisions on the material and financial aspects of the referendum at the advice of the Central Electoral Commission.

The resolution would come into force immediately after it was passed.

Yeltsin To Insist on 25 Apr Referendum

LD2703093593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0927 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—At the Congress today, the president of the Russian Federation will insist on his formula connected with the holding of an April 25 referendum, Vladimir Shumeyko, first vice-premier of the Russian Federation, told journalists on Saturday in comment on the draft resolution about referendum. The draft resolution was distributed at the Congress on Saturday morning.

Shumeyko drew journalists' attention to the fact that under the law on referendum, questions connected with the budgetary and taxation systems are banned from being brought up for a referendum.

"The second question in the suggested draft resolution mentions the president's socio-economic policy (The question runs: "Do you support the socio-economic reforms policy being pursued under the direction of the president of President B.N. Yeltsin of the Russian Federation?"). [sentence as received] But there cannot be a social policy without taxation and budgetary systems. This question should not be put", Shumeyko said.

Besides, Shumeyko noted, the suggested draft resolution envisages that decisions on the questions brought up for the referendum shall be considered adopted if they are voted for by more than 50 per cent of citizens who have the right to be included in voting lists. The president at one time was elected by 50 per cent of the vote. There is an obvious disparity in this respect, the first vice-premier emphasised.

Speaking about a congressional draft resolution "On Urgent Measures Aimed at Keeping the Constitutional System", Shumeyko criticised the wording of point two which suggests that the president and the parliament chairman decide on their voluntary resignation.

"This question can be put in regard to Ruslan Khasbulatov because he was elected by deputies," Shumeyko stated. "But this question cannot be put with regard to the president because about 50 million people voted for him at one time," he said.

The first vice-premier also described as "strange" a point about placing presidential agencies under the authority of the government. Such actions serve to eliminate the presidential structure of power, Shumeyko said.

Abdulatipov Reads Resolution

LD2703181393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1312 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Resolution on an all-Russian referendum to be held on 25 April, read at the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation at the Grand Kremlin in Moscow by Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities—live]

[Text] Respected People's Deputies, a resolution by the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation on an all-Russian referendum on 25 April 1993 and the procedure for bringing together its results is being presented for your attention. This issue has been discussed at length both at the congress and prior to the congress. The drafting commission submits the following resolution:

The Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, with the aim of surmounting the political crisis in the Russian Federation and taking into account the proposals of the president of the Russian Federation that a referendum be held on confidence in the president of the Russian Federation, resolves, first, that nationwide voting by referendum should be announced for Sunday 25 April 1993, throughout the entire territory of the Russian Federation, on the following questions.

First question: Do you have confidence in Russian Federation President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin? Yes/No—cross out what is not needed. Second question: Do you support the course toward social and economic reforms being implemented under the leadership of Russian Federation President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin? Third question: Do you consider it necessary to hold pre-term elections for the Russian Federation president in 1993? Fourth question: Do you consider it is necessary to hold pre-term elections for the people's deputies of the Russian Federation in 1993?

It is proposed that separate ballots be drawn up for each of the questions. Nationwide voting by referendum on the questions stipulated in point one of the current resolution should be held in accordance with the Russian Federation's laws on referendums in the RSFSR. Decisions on the questions put to the referendum will be considered adopted if more than half of the citizens with the right to be included on the electoral roll have voted in favor of them.

It should be established that the powers of the all-Russian referendum Central Commission will be exercised during the referendum by the Central Electoral Commission for the elections of people's deputies of the

Russian Federation. The Central Electoral Commission should approve the wording and text of the voting papers by 2 April 1993.

Fourth [as heard], it should be established that the powers of okrug all- Russian referendum commissions be exercised during the referendum by the appropriate central electoral commissions for elections of people's deputies of the republics which are part of the Russian Federation, by the kray, oblast, okrug, Moscow, and St. Petersburg city electoral commissions for the elections of people's deputies to the appropriate soviets of people's deputies. The supreme soviets of the republics which are part of the Russian Federation, the soviets of people's deputies of the krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and cities of federal status should, where necessary, supplement numbers in the okrug all-Russian referendum commissions within three days of the present resolution coming into force.

Fifth: to authorize okrug commissions for all-Russian referendums, in coordination with the relevant councils of people's deputies, to involve in the holding of the referendum rayon, town, settlement, and village electoral commissions for the election of people's deputies to the relevant council of people's deputies, granting these electoral commissions the necessary authorities.

Sixth: The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation is to establish:

a procedure for obtaining access to the state mass media, and guaranteeing their equal usage in canvassing for and against the questions submitted at the referendum;

a procedure for financing canvassing on the subject of the referendum, excluding the use for canvassing of funds from foreign citizens and legal entities, budgetary funds, extra-budgetary and currency funds from subjects of the Russian Federation and local budgets, non-budgetary and currency funds;

a procedure for financing canvassing on the subject of the referendum by voluntary payments by citizens of the Russian Federation, enterprises, and public associations, and also by assignations at the expense of the republican budget of the Russian Federation;

a procedure for participating in canvassing on the subject of a referendum by officials, federal organs of state power of the Russian Federation, bodies of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, and local government bodies.

Seventh: The Council of Ministers and the Government of the Russian Federation are entrusted by the central commission for the Russian referendum with solving problems of the material and financial provisions for the referendum; and with ensuring that enterprises, establishments, and organizations and state and public bodies, in accordance with the Russian Federation law on RSFSR referendums, place at the disposal of the all-Russian referendum committee during the period of preparation for the referendum the premises, equipment, and means of transport necessary for holding the referendum.

Eighth: The central commission for all-Russian referendums will check that legislation is observed while the referendum is being held, and will systematically inform the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and the president of the Russian Federation on the course of preparations for the referendum.

Ninth: To bring the present resolution into effect from the moment of its adoption. I ask you to examine this draft resolution. Thank you.

Yeltsin Objects to Congress Draft Resolution

LD2703115593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1143 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of Russia on Saturday [27 March] sent a letter to the Drafting Commission of the Congress, objecting to two key provisions of the draft resolution "On an All-Russia Referendum on April 25, 1993, and on a Procedure to Sum Up its Results".

"Instead of a simple, clear-cut and understandable question: 'Do you trust the President of the Russian Federation?', the draft resolution suggests three questions at once. As if a president and a presidential policy can exist separately from each other. As if it does not follow from an answer to the question about confidence in the president that in the event of a person's negative attitude, I would have to resign and a new presidential election should be held three months after that", the letter said.

Yeltsin also pointed out that a question about confidence in the Congress was again absent from the draft resolution. He recalled that matters concerning taxes and budget are banned from being brought up for an all-Russia referendum. But taxation and budget are components of a socio-economic reform. Consequently the putting of the question runs counter to legislation.

The president emphasised that he put a question about confidence in himself. "It is clear to everyone that those people who do not trust my reforms would not support me as the president either," he wrote.

Touching upon rules to determine the outcome of the referendum, Yeltsin pointed out that law establishes one rule for a presidential election: It is essential to poll more than a half of the vote, whereas the draft resolution prepared by the Drafting Commission of the Congress demands more than a half of the entire list of Russian Federation citizens who have the right to participate in the polling. "This is a direct breach of the law on referendum. It is clear that an answer to the question

about confidence in the president or the lack thereof does not require changes in the constitution," Yeltsin summed up.

Therefore Boris Yeltsin suggests that two questions be left intact: "Do you trust the president of the Russian Federation?" and "Do you trust the Congress of the People's Deputies of the Russian Federation?".

He suggests that a resolution clearly stipulate that, if no confidence in the president is brought in, a new presidential election shall be held. If no confidence in the congress is expressed, an early election of people's deputies shall be held. If no confidence is expressed either in the president or the Congress, a general election shall be held.

"If my proposals are turned down, I would remain on the initial positions set out in my address dated March 20 on a popular vote on confidence in the president and on a draft new constitution," the letter said.

Shumeyko Criticizes Draft Resolution

OW2703120493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1145 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko, talking to reporters before the beginning of Saturday's [27 March] session of the Congress of People's Deputies, was very critical of the draft resolutions prepared by the Congress Drafting Commission. He said asking the population at the referendum whether it supported the government's socio-economic policy was unacceptable in principle since putting such a question to the vote in a referendum contradicted the Referendum Law.

Nor does Shumeyko accept the provision that a decision would be taken if more than 50 percent of those put on the voting lists voted in favor of it. He said Boris Yeltsin, standing for president, had to receive more than 50 percent of the votes of those who actually took part in the election.

The deputy premier also attacked the draft resolution "On Urgent Measures to Preserve the Constitutional System of the Russian Federation" for its recommendation that the president and parliament chairman resign.

In Shumeyko's opinion, the congress is in a position to suggest this to the parliament chairman but by no means to the president. "Only about 500 deputies are persistently demanding the president's dismissal," whereas he was elected by more than 50 million Russians, he said.

Shakhray Explains Yeltsin Position

LD2703151593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1319 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Address by Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray to Ninth Congress of People's Deputies at the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Chairman, Esteemed People's Deputies: I am authorized to convey to you the position of the president of the Russian Federation before the draft is voted on as a basis. He draws your attention, esteemed people's deputies, to two main questions, without going into details, which is undoubtedly the prerogative of the congress itself.

First, it is deliberately proposed that the one simple question—Do you have confidence in the president of the Russian Federation?—be divided into three questions: Do you have confidence in the president?; Do you have confidence in his socioeconomic course?; and is it necessary to hold early presidential elections? The Russian president has publicly, both here at the congress and in the document that has been circulated in the hall, set out his position. In the event of the president not being supported in the confidence vote on 25 April, he will resign. In that case, Article 121.11 of the Russian Federation Constitution will come into effect, which stipulates that according to the law on presidential elections, new elections are to be held after three months. In the interim, the duties of president would be carried out by the vice president. This is how the president puts the question of confidence in himself.

Second, can a question be included in the referendum slip on the essence of socioeconomic reform? Esteemed people's deputies, look at the law on the referendum. That law directly prohibits putting to a national vote questions concerning the budget, or taxes, or other socioeconomic questions for the simple reason that questions of this type are not put to referendum in any country. That would be the same as asking citizens whether they want to be rich and healthy or poor and sick. In any case, it is a direct breach of the referendum. Now the second point of principle, on the rules for counting votes and compiling the results of the referendum. The question of do you trust the president or not does not affect the constitution and does not assume any changes or amendments to the constitution, so in accordance with the law on referenda, the result of voting in the referendum is drawn from the majority of those who voted, on the condition that more than 50 percent actually voted. Have a look at the law on referenda, or start changing your own laws and your own constitution.

I quoted Article 121.11 to you. Lack of confidence in the president means his resignation. If he resigns, the vice president has three months and then there are elections. Or put this resolution to the vote by two-thirds of the votes. Respected People's Deputies, the president in his speech yesterday asked you, and via you your electorate, what the people expect from the congress. The president

himself surrendered his own destiny so as not to bring people out onto the streets. He surrendered his destiny to the people, and I propose that the Congress should do the same. Resolve this question yourselves. Why submit the question of pre-term elections to a referendum? Who will interpret the results afterwards? Who will determine the laws in accordance with which and—the main point—the body in which the elections will be held? There are elementary rules. If a lack of confidence is expressed in the president, he will resign and there will be new elections within three months. If a lack of confidence is expressed in the congress, pre-term elections will be held. If a lack of confidence is expressed in both, simultaneous elections of both the deputies and the president will be held. The congress and the corps of deputies are obliged to ensure that such procedures take place. All of the rest is a cunning attempt to evade an honest answer to the questions that the president has asked. Here, of course, there will definitely be discussion about what legal force the president's decree has given to the vote that he has requested.

The Congress of...[changes thought] The president understands full well that neither the Congress nor the Constitutional Court would ever agree to recognize the results of the ballot of which the president spoke to be legally binding. That is why the president does not use the term popular referendum, but ballot. That is why the president does not use the term early elections. Otherwise he would come into conflict with the law and the Constitution. That is why the president says the results of the ballot on 25 April are the president's moral and political choice, they are the moral and political choice of his voters. He is counting on the congress making the same kind of moral and honest choice.

[Khasbulatov] Right. Thank you.

Congress Prepares Media Resolution; President Objects

LD2703121093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0951 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar—The draft decision "Measures to Safeguard Freedom of Speech in State Television and Radio Broadcasting" proposes that executive power bodies be forbidden to be founders of state television and radio companies and information services, and to transfer their powers as founders to the bodies of representative power and local self-government.

In accordance with this project, prepared by the drafting commission of the Congress, the bodies of executive power, including the Federal Information Center, are forbidden to interfere in the activity of state televison, and radio companies and observation councils for television and radio broadcasting are set up attached to the representatives bodies of power. The heads of the state companies of federal significance are appointed and relieved of their duties by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and the Observation Council.

At the same time, a ruling of the Main Legal Directorate of the president's administration has been distributed, in which the conclusion has been drawn that this draft runs counter to the Constitution and a number of laws of the Russian Federation and opens the way for legislative (representative) bodies to interfere in the professional activity of the mass media and for the establishment of censureship. According to the law, no one is qualified to take away the right from a mass media founder, which now can be any state body, without his consent. The ruling of the Main Legal Directorate points to other disparities in the draft with a whole range of laws now in force, including the encroachment on the rights of subjects of the Federation.

The presidential side has proposed an alternative draft decision with the same title. It proposes that interference by any state organs and officials in the activities of television and radio companies be banned, except for instances envisaged by the Law "On the Mass Media" and the rights and duties of the founders of television and radio companies which in federal ownership would be handed over to their labor collectives, while maintaining the existing finance and supply system. The heads of federal companies must be appointed by the president of the Russian Federation by agreement with the Supreme Soviet. The provisions on television and radio companies should envisage guarantees of objective coverage of public processes and of equal opportunities for various political parties and movements.

The presidential draft decision instructs the federal television and radio companies to be guided by the principles of the freedom of the mass media, adopted in the documents of the Council of Europe, and it is proposed to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation to continue strengthening legal and economic guarantees of the freedom of the mass media and to adopt the appropriate laws within three months.

Congress To Consider Draft

OW2703120793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1145 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Drafting Commission of the Congress of People's Deputies has put before the Congress a draft resolution on measures to ensure the freedom of state television and radio, prohibiting executive branch bodies and officials, including the Federal Information Center, from interfering in the work of state television and radio companies.

Under this document, drafted at the motion of People's Deputy Mikhail Astafyev, executive branch bodies and officials would not be allowed to found state television and radio companies or information services, and would

have to pass over their founders' status in existing companies to respective legislative and local government bodies.

Legislative bodies would have to set up so-called supervisory councils for radio and television. Appointment and dismissal of senior officers in federal television and radio companies would have to be approved by the federal supervisory council and the federal parliament.

Supervisory councils would have to ensure that "social and political problems are given objective coverage, and that different political organizations and movements are given equal broadcasting time to state their points of view." They would also have to take measures to prevent "political monopolization of state television and radio." Commenting on the draft resolution at INTERFAX's request, First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko said that, if the Congress passed it, the president would immediately appeal against it with the Constitutional Court.

Congress Fails To Discuss Draft Resolution

LD2703152093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1502 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennady Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—The 9th Congress of Russian People's Deputies did not discuss the presidential side-prepared draft resolution "On Measures To Ensure Freedom of Speech in State TV and Radio Broadcast", as the deputies basically approved the draft resolution on the issue elaborated by the congress auditing commission.

Newly-elected head of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on Mass Media Vladimir Lisin presented the draft and said "there is political censorship in mass media and, especially, the state TV".

In his words, the censorship has "acquired a specific character, which is expressed in unequal share of broadcast time for persons with a different political outlook. News programs offer numerous reports, whose aims is to impose the opinion of that part of the executive authority, which has a claim on monopolization of the state power".

The congress drafting commission believes before the adoption of a law on organization of TV and radio broadcast in the Russian Federation, the activities of state TV and radio companies shall be done in strict correspondence with the proposed resolution and the Russian law on mass media, said Lisin.

"The activities of structures, which are not envisaged by this law, shall not be allowed and their financing shall be stopped. The Congress of People's Deputies shall abolish the Russian Federal Information Center and the Russia TV and radio service."

In Lisin's words, it is necessary that representative power bodies create observer councils on freedom of speech in the state television. The observer councils shall provide for objective state TV and radio coverage of social and political problems and events; equal broadcast possibility to convey points of view of various political organizations and movements on Russian economic, social and political processes; and the adoption of measures to prevent monopolization of state TV and radio broadcast.

The congress instructed the commission to improve the draft. The final voting will be done later.

Deputy Lisin Addresses Congress on Media Controls

LD2703185993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1306 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Speech by Deputy Lisin at evening session of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies, unfortunately, I am obliged to come on to a matter which in various forms has been passed from congress to congress. The fact that it is not only people's deputies who are worried about this is shown by letters and telegrams from the electorate. For example, the collective of electors of the Oskolkovskiy state farm, Aleyskiy rayon, Altay kray, telegraphs: we request your assistance in providing a relay of the Congress and in giving objective information on radio and television on the work of all the branches of power.

The presence of political censorship in the mass media and particularly on state television at the present time can be judged from the coverage given to the president's recent address to the people. It was relayed on the Ostankino channel in the evening, then four times during the night on the time-shifted channels and in the morning. At the same time not a single word was uttered during that period about the reaction of the Supreme Soviet although I, and not only I, myself, but other people's deputies too, were assured by the Ostankino television director, Bragin, that Tatyana Mitkova ["Novosti" newscast announcer] had reported on the reaction. But it turned out that Mitkova had simply reported that four representatives including Zorkin, Voronin, and others were sitting in the television studio reception and waiting for their time.

On the basis of this one can say that political censorship today has taken on a new specific character, manifesting itself in the unequal granting of airtime to people expressing different political views. The "Novosti" programs are full of commentaries which attempt to impose the opinion of that section of the executive power which is aspiring to monopolize state power. An example of this is the admission made by Kisilev, presenter of the "Itogi" program, at a news conference when he said straight out that constant pressure is put on him.

The Congress drafting commission considers that in the future, until the adoption of the law on the organization of television and radio broadcasting in the Russian Federation, the activity of state television and radio broadcasting companies should be carried out strictly in accordance with the proposed decision and the law of the Russian Federation on the mass information media.

In addition, the activities of the structures envisaged by the decree and by the law are not being allowed and finance is being withdrawn from all people's deputies of the Russian Federation. The Federal Information Center of Russia and Russian Television and "Radio Rossii" are being abolished.

It is also considered necessary that the representative bodies of power should set up oversight committees to monitor freedom of speech: oversight committees for freedom of speech on state television. Their main task in our view is to ensure objective coverage on state television and radio of socio-political problems and events; to provide equal broadcasting opportunities for the various political organizations and movements to present their viewpoints on the economic, social, and political processes that are taking place in Russia; and to take the necessary measures to prevent the monopolization of state television and radio.

I want to draw you attention once again, people's deputies, to the fact that this is an issue of the greatest possible relevance and importance in our troubled, unstable times. I ask you to accept this draft resolution as a basis.

Kovalev Addresses Congress, Supports Yeltsin

LD2703125093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0702 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Address by Deputy Sergey Adamovich Kovalev, chairman of the Human Rights Committee, with interjections by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov at the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies at the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Kovalev] Esteemed colleagues. Let's not beat around the bush—they gathered us here to remove the president from power. I hope that this won't happen. I hope that this will be prevented by the president's firm position, which he has recently declared and which has been supported by the people. If worse came to worst, the organizers of this Congress would have liked to discredit the president in front of the whole country and force him to make humiliating and one-sided concessions. Only then will it be possible to make him kneel, to reduce his functions to pure ritual, and to seize all the levers of power.

The desire of certain political forces to remove their rivals from power is a natural and, generally speaking, a quite legitimate aspiration. Some people have their own view of how the country should be ruled, and within a developed parliamentary democracy, any point of view, I mean a legitimate one, has the right to exist.

But only those things that are stated, to say the least, honestly and conscientiously, can be described as a point of view. Let's have a look at how conscientious those who call themselves an opposition are, although they make up almost two-thirds of the people in this hall. Yeltsin's rivals are presently announcing their adherence to law, legality, and the observance of constitutional norms.

The constitutional court, in unison with the speaker, is constantly saying that we have, allegedly, gone far beyond the constitutional field. And who should be talking about the Constitutional Court—the person who one year ago took upon himself the functions of a city policeman and ordered his fellow countrymen to be forcefully evicted from Moscow hotels [reference to Khasbulatov evicting Chechens] only because of their ethnic origins? The person who is constantly switching off microphones when speakers do not suit him? I would like to ask the Standing Orders Commission ...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Please be calm.

[Kovalev] ... to take into account this noise in the hall. I will be forced to go over my limit.

Clashes between the executive and legislative authorities occur in many countries. Departures from the constitutional framework happen in many countries, but there is one level of bodies which, by their very nature, should never in any way depart from this framework; that is, the bodies monitoring the Constitution. The real tragedy is that it was these bodies which departed from the framework of the constitutional field. When the law is broken by the Constitutional Court, that really is terrible. During the recent investigations, the Constitutional Court did not, alas, act as an arbiter, but as a political force.

I will cite just one incident, which is most typical, in my view, and which it would be difficult to put down to a chance error. The investigation took place and was completed before the court had received the text of the president's decree. It is improbable, but it is a fact that the court pronounced a decision on the content of a document without having its text to hand. Admittedly, the court's chairman explained to us that the decision was pronounced, not on the decree itself, but on the president's actions, which consisted of him publicly expounding the content of his decree.

The Soviet judicial tradition is very familiar. I, at least, am very familiar with the formula: we are judging you not on your convictions but on your actions. And what were the actions? Expounding convictions. We all remember well where this fine legal tradition, developed in Vyshinskiy's laboratories [deputy procurator general 1933-39, worked on theory of state and law], leads. I have not read Pasternak, but I know that he croaks like a frog, and so on.

What I have said is not just fault-finding for the sake of fault-finding. If the chairman of the Constitutional

Court had not hastened to make frenzied political evaluations, violating the law as he did, if the court had demonstrated restraint and firmness in its observance of legal norms, there would not have been any dramatic or incorrect reaction to the president's address of 20 March. The court departed the constitutional field, and nothing of what Zorkin has said about the political situation requiring this is acceptable. Faced with a legal and political impasse, the Congress's current, nonspeculative, task should be to seek a way out.

I can see the only way out of it, and that is to appeal to the people, who are sovereign. I think that the inevitability of a referendum is clear today even to my esteemed colleagues from the so-called opposition. However, I agree that if the questions put to the people are only formulated by the executive power, the balance of powers will be shifted.

I suggest the following: First, the executive calls for a vote of confidence, and the Congress does not try to change the wording. A vote of no confidence would mean the resignation of the president and early presidential elections. Second, the legislature calls for a vote of confidence, and the president does not try to change the wording. A vote of no confidence would mean an early termination of the powers of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet and elections for a new body of deputies.

Third, since it is unclear what law should be taken into account when holding new elections and what the basis for the work of the new bodies of the supreme power will be, it is imperative to submit the main principles of a new constitution to the referendum. I think that those should be the principles laid out in the draft prepared by the Constitutional Commission, which consists of people's deputies. The president is in fact its chairman. I would like to remind you that this draft was approved by the Sixth Congress.

If the main principles are approved by the people, they should be implemented right away as a temporary constitution, up until they are adopted as a basis for a new constitution. This question should ideally be worded by both the executive and the legislature, which would allow us to preserve the necessary balance. And finally, the fourth thing. I think that from the point of view of the legitimacy of the constitutional process, it is imperative that people tell us whether they entrust normal legislative bodies with this work or a constitutional assembly especially elected by all the people for this particular purpose.

If the question about the constitutional assembly is submitted to the referendum by us, by the Congress, it will be seen, I am sure, as proof of our honesty and responsibility and will drastically raise the authority of our assembly. Those were my suggestions.

We will see what the president's opponents suggest as an alternative to the referendum. A government which enjoys the trust of the people is being suggested. But does anyone in this hall know who the people trust? We will find it out only on 25 April.

A lot of rude and insulting things have been said here about the government. I am not an economist, and I find it difficult to judge Chubays' work, let's say, but I can and would like to talk about Kozyrev.

To a considerable extent, we owe to Kozyrev's work the fact that we are entering the world community as a civilized country and also the priority of human rights and the principled position of present- day Russia, which are being consistently pursued by the foreign minister. This is the main condition for our entry into the Council of Europe.

However, there is another position, which is expressed by Deputy Andronov. It is the ridiculous position of those people who are irritated by our civilized present-day foreign policy, who want to turn us back to the times of the Iron Curtain and who see the entire external world as enemies, forever wanting to undermine Russia in every way. Iona Ionovich's concept is in its purest form a Stalinist concept. At one time, he was energetically working on precisely that concept, claiming that everything was okay in our country with respect to human rights, whereas just look at America. That concept was successfully being implemented by Deputy Andronov, a soldier of the Cold War and perhaps even one of its generals.

Now a final point... [noise from deputies]

[Khasbulatov] Complete your speech.

[Kovalev] If contrary to common sense and the law, the Congress embarks on a secret vote to remove the president from office, I declare in advance that I will not take part in such a vote, and I will submit a corresponding declaration to the secretariat. I do not want the attempts by the leaders of the majority to extend responsibility for this stupid act to the whole of the corps of deputies to succeed. I hope that many will act in the same way—not just those who share my political views, but everyone who cherishes the honor and personal reputation of decent people. I ask you to think about the decision that we are to adopt. It is a matter of something much greater than the fate of the president and greater even than the fate of the reforms. It has to do with the future of democracy and parliamentarism in Russia and the future of Russia itself. Thank you for your attention.

Nationalities Chairman Abdulatipov Addresses Congress

LD2703132593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0830 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Address by Soviet of Nationalities Chairman Ramazan Abdulatipov to Ninth Congress of People's Deputies at the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Congress, Esteemed Constitutional Court: I perfectly understand that those who sit on the fence don't stumble, and those who are silent don't make mistakes. Perhaps in today's complicated situation it pays to keep silent because the only speeches listened to are those trying to score points against the opposing side. I do not want to speak here as anyone's opponent. I only want to say a few words about our state.

In our time the most sacred words have lost their true meaning. To be cynically cunning and to deceive one's own people to please one's own narrow political and mercenary interests has become fashionable. It is time political gambling was ended since our fatherland, our state, is at stake here today.

The main question that should have been discussed at length, which we have not yet done, is the question of the contents and priorities of the Russian state. Accordingly, the priorities in internal and foreign policies have not been defined. At present we lack a philosophical justification of the state system that we began introducing especially after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. We come across conflict situations all the time because we did not define the general initial positions that would have united us as the citizens of one state in resolving private issues, even in small things. I would like to stress, we live in one country but we have not become the citizens of one state. [passage omitted]

We have not yet found the ideas and priorities around which society, peoples, and citizens can unite. We have not determined the limits of our pluralism beyond which the disintegration of the Russian state begins. We have turned state patriotism into a sign of conservative backwardness. It has become fashionable now to bluntly criticize the history of one's own unique, original people and to humiliate one's own state. And look around; it is now good form to accuse Russia of all the sins. By toppling each other, first and foremost, we are humiliating and destroying the Russian state. It is time the president, government members, parliamentarians, and journalists thought about that.

One of the main priorities of the Russian state is its federalism. Federalist traditions were introduced in the Russian state as long ago as the seventh through the 10th centuries. But it is fashionable to cast doubt on the principle of federalism at present. The Federal Treaty is the only document so far in which one of the priorities of the state was agreed upon and received enshrinement in the constitution. For some reason, this is forgotten when the nationalities policy is discussed.

It is in this most complicated sphere that important attempts were made in trying to define the priorities of the state policy. The Soviet of Nationalities, together with the Federal Treaty, has prepared and approved a program for the national revival of the peoples of the Russian Federation. We throw to the wind hundreds of billions of rubles because we do not have concrete basic programs, but not a single ruble has been allocated so far on the program that was adopted by one of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet and agreed with the government, albeit considerable amounts are allocated on every new interethnic conflict. So what are we working for—conflicts or accord?

At the same time, it is popular to discuss the shortcomings of the nationalities policy without taking into consideration the fact that a successful socioeconomic and sociopolitical environment is needed for the nationalities policy to be successful. In all the so-called interethnic conflicts there is less than 10 percent of ethnic elements. It is simply that everything is given an ethnic tinge. We say one thing, print another, and do something else.

We talk about a liberal economy, then conduct a policy of rigid state patronage. I do not know how Chernomyrdin will cope with this legacy when society is allowed credits and when we almost squeeze producers out of the political game. We talk about democracy and a rule-of-law state, and yet compete with each other to violate the Constitution and laws. The president's last message to the Supreme Soviet on constitutionality—forgive me Boris Yeltsin—but it completely discredited rather than defended the Constitution. Our radical democrats pursue their political objectives and do not want to see that they have assumed a stance where they represent a democracy of feudal-type leaders, where they do not need either the Constitution or any laws. [applause]

The president's speech on 20 March set in motion actions by the most extreme forces. Once more Russia and Russia's policy have become hostages to this. Any lack of respect for the Constitution, from whichever quarter it comes, puts society in a dangerous situation. Russia would have been poised on the verge of tragedy had it not been for the courage of the Constitutional Court and a number of officials. They saved the Constitution and the president—and I would emphasize this, they saved the president himself. [passage omitted]

I understand that today, when we speak of a nationalities policy, we need to take as our starting point the fact that all these issues need to be carefully weighed and discussed. Today, the most complex situation of this type is in the northern Caucasus region. Some signs of a stabilization in the situation have started to appear. [passage omitted]

In this instance, without consulting the Soviet of Nationalities, without holding consultations with the state committee on the affairs of the federation and nationalities—and in these extremely difficult conditions, we tried to conduct a joint policy—a decree was signed on reforming the military structures of the internal troops on the northern Caucasus territory and on state support for the Cossacks.

This decree was on the agenda of the Seventh Congress, and when I met the president, Boris Yeltsin promised that this decree would not be signed without additional consultations with subjects of the federation and the Soviet of Nationalities. This decree today is primarily

insulting to the Cossacks because at the end of the 20th century, this people, this society, their role is practically turning into the role of policemen or gendarmes. The fragile peace in the northern Caucasus has been violated. [passage omitted]

I must say here that I respect the Cossacks a great deal, but none of the Caucasian peoples, and no other people in Russia, will live under the Cossack whip. During our historical past, we frequently fought against the Cossacks, but today we are neighbors and we want to live as brothers. There is no reason for us to set upon each other. I appealed to the president, and on the day when this decree was published I officially requested that he stop this decree from coming into force until additional consultations are held with subjects of the federation and the ethnic movements.

I think that today we should try to stop this conflict in the highest bodies of state authority from affecting the whole of society. We should try to implement the decree of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies on implementing the Federal Treaty. The government should be given space to carry out its economic activities. We must meet the president halfway and set a date for a referendum. Therefore, at this congress we need to define the questions we will pose at the referendum.

At one and the same time, we continue to maintain our silence on what mechanism we will use to implement the will of the people, which will be expressed at the referendum. For some reason we have not given any thought to this. Before re-election takes place, we need to define the state structure and the structure of the supreme bodies of state authority. I would like to emphasize once more, I am once more appealing to the president to suspend his decree of 15 March. It is necessary at this congress to amend the constitution regarding early elections, but we should carry out our duties and strengthen our control functions. Parliament should function permanently—this guarantees democracy.

I think that to set elections for autumn 1993, whatever our desire to do this might be, is a short-sighted approach. We cannot work out and agree on all the necessary laws and mechanisms to preserve our state before spring 1994. Once more, I would like to emphasize that we need to reach accord here.

And a few words about the setting up the Soviet of the Federation: People's deputies have clearly forgotten that an instruction on the Soviet of the Federation was issued by the Russian Federation's Third Congress of People's Deputies. The Soviet of the Federation functioned as a consultative body—such a body can exist in this sense for reaching permanent agreements on federal policy. But if we turn the Soviet of the Federation into a parliamentary chamber... this was practically the scenario that was worked out at the union level and it destroyed the union. [applause]

In conclusion, I would like to thank you for listening so calmly and respectfully to my short speech. Thank you.

Congress Strips Deputy Mironov of Powers

LD2703103093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Reporting on the past two hours of congress proceedings in the Kremlin, correspondent Olga Vasilenko notes the following:

[Vasilenko] Literally five minutes ago an event took place at the congress that I think will be the subject of much comment. By 567 votes, the congress stripped Deputy Mironov of his deputy powers. You probably are familiar with him. Viktor Mironov is a Moscow deputy, elected from a territorial constituency, but he, so to speak, did not hide his democratic aspirations, radical democratic aspirations. And, if you remember, at the past congress he said that as a sign of protest against the disgraceful things that had been taking place at the congress he was temporarily suspending his deputy's powers.

Deputy Rebrikov, representing Labor Russia, proposed, so to speak, putting the stripping of Mironov's deputy powers to a vote, and everything was decided literally in 30 seconds. Deputy Mironov, by the decision of the corps of deputies, is no longer a deputy, even though, honestly speaking, one question after another is occurring to me. After all, he was elected by no less than 150,000 people in the constituency, and now these voters no longer have their deputy.

Chernomyrdin Addresses Congress on Government's Opinion

CM2903090093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 1000 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Address by Prime Minister Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin at the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed President, Esteemed Chairman, Esteemed People's Deputies: Both yesterday and today we have heard many speeches in this hall. A question of great importance for our country is being discussed. I, as leader of the government, thought I might express my opinion, the opinion of the government, on what is happening today here in Russia.

Today, we all have one common goal and one common pain: to stop the degradation of the state and the destruction of the country. The present political crisis, the conflict between presidential and legislative authority, has unfortunately gone beyond the limits of central authority as such. It is beginning to split Russia and the regions; it is cutting deep into our economic system. We have reached a line beyond which there is chaos, anarchy, and the disintegration of the economy. In short, however difficult it is to admit, we really are on the verge of a national catastrophe.

The government has supported the stance of the Russian president, and his striving first and foremost to overcome the economic crisis and the crisis of authority. We have done so with full awareness of our responsibility for such a step, proceeding from the notion that the government is categorically against extraordinary measures, or even any suggestion of the extraordinary. Everyone is to blame for the conflict that has flared up, and we must all solve it together. We must resolve it by civilized methods, without antagonisms, without eliminating one side or the other, without humiliating or insulting anyone's honor and dignity.

I am struck by the striving of some of those speaking here to push the government and the power [silovoy] ministries up against the wall, in the first instance, and they all want to ask—just like in the film—who are you for, the Bolsheviks or the communists. The logic of political confrontation could lead us, and has already led us, too far. Reasonable arguments no longer have any effect.

It is not surprising that at present many collectives, rayons, and towns are copying our supreme power as it is today and have just the same continuous debates, sessions, rallies, and roundtables and do no work at all. [applause] And this at a time when people are struggling to get by from one day to the next. Well, tell me, for example, is it right for us today in this situation to bother with the election of heads of administration? Let us give ourselves an honest reply: What benefit will this be and to whom? I consider that in the present conditions this is an impermissible luxury.

We must treat these cadres with consideration: what happened with the two heads of administration, which have already been referred to here, literally in the past few days, has stirred everybody up. To this has been added the decree on the responsibility of officials of the executive power, in accordance with which all officials are to be subject to checking. These are people who must be treated with consideration. But I can ask the same today of those who have prepared the decree: What sort of an urge is it that makes some people direct their activities towards getting together, while others break everything up even further and continue to do so? Is it necessary?

How are we going to treat our sick political system? It is clear that surgical methods are not the best option here. To amputate one of the branches of authority will mean leaving Russia a cripple, if it does not finish her off altogether. We need other methods of treatment that do not damage the integrity of the Russian political system. Today, we are all agreed that the country is living through not only a constitutional, but an all-embracing systemic crisis, which I told you about at the last congress. To get out of it we need first and foremost a system of state regulation of the economy, and we have few disagreements on this score. The government is preparing such a system.

Two weeks ago I had the opportunity of reporting to you from this platform on what has been done over this time and how the present government is acting. One can now also mention several concrete steps that have been undertaken in recent days. Monetary and credit policy guidelines have been worked out. Measures are being adopted to regulate currency policy and foreign economic activity as a whole. One of the new directions in the government's activity is a selective structural policy. Social policy aims are finally becoming real priorities in our activity; even during the present very difficult times we have examined and adopted a program of housing construction.

A whole package of documents on other urgent social problems has been prepared: in particular, on protecting the population's savings and urgent measures aimed at the stabilization of people's living standards. Using our legislative initiative, which the government now has, we are submitting to the Supreme Soviet draft amendments to a number of laws, first and foremost, to the law on enterprises and entrepreneurial activities. Claims that the government does not have a program have frequently been voiced here at the congress. I would like to ask you which program you are talking about? I can tell the esteemed congress today that there is a program that takes us up to 1995. There is another program that takes us up to the year 2000. The latter one is now being discussed. I would love to outline today a program that would take us up to the year 3000, but before that, let's sort out what we have to do now, this year, what measures we need to take here.

I already told you here on 11 February that with the participation, broad participation, of the government, heads of administrations, and deputies themselves we have prepared specific measures for 1993. I would like to draw your attention once again today to the fact that this is what we are going to do and what we have to do today. I would like to say once again that the government does have things to do. The sowing campaign is about to start. We are now doing our best to lay the foundations of the future harvest and to provide all the necessary resources for rural areas. There are a great number of other urgent tasks. Specific, urgent decisions are being taken on many other of the most important problems in economic life, such as the delivery of products, materials, and equipment to our north, the stabilization of oil extraction, the financing of conversion, and the elimination of nonpayments and others.

In these circumstances, the issue of confidence in a state capable of continuing the course of implementing reforms acquires special significance. I want you to understand my alarm and concern properly. If there is no confidence in the institutions of power, it means there is no state regulation of the economy; it means that instead of the stabilization of economic life we very much risk ending up with its complete and final disintegration. But can we speak of confidence if in the war against everyone not only are the rights of each of the powers—legislative, executive, and judicial—trampled, but also the exclusive

and inalienable rights of the people are trampled underfoot—those millions of people for whom Russia is their only homeland and on whose well-being we all swear with such passion here. The key to confidence in the authorities lies in the full realization of the people's rights—first and foremost, the right to have the authorities they want to have. Therefore, we cannot avoid the issue of early elections, both of the president and of deputies. [applause]

We vitally need a new law on elections. Otherwise this idea, which practically everyone shares, will remain just a general declaration. If the congress today does not find its way to specific definite decisions, we shall also not make any progress toward adopting a new constitution or to calming down political passions. Under the conditions of the present political disintegration, it is torturously difficult not only to carry out reform but also to ensure elementary vital support through the economy.

The need for change is not only now due. It is many times overdue. This is shown by the growth of political tension from one congress to another. We need to think with special responsibility about the fundamental interests of the Federation's subjects. Now the integrity of Russia is at stake.

Therefore, whatever decision is taken on the fate of the constitution, we are obliged to preserve the Federation Treaty and give it real substance, as speakers have already said here. I am convinced here that a key role can be played by a Soviet of the Federation, which, as I see it, could absolutely grow into one of the chambers of the future parliament, and it is now, immediately, that we need to begin work here in Moscow in a permanent conference of plenipotentiary representatives of the subjects of the federation and the central authorities. This will allow a mechanism for implementing the Federation Treaty to be quickly developed. Moreover, this can be done speedily, within a month. We need a principally new model of the center, which could become the coordinator directing the interests of various regions within a single channel.

A new approach for the national state interests of our fatherland is necessary. In the end, this means a balance of interests of the republics, krays, and oblasts. It means a balance of interests of the peoples of our country. It means a balance of interests of various social groups. It means a balance of interests of various political forces. It is precisely these qualities that the Russian Government must embody in itself, which is becoming, and must be, a government of national concord, national trust. The government, in the conditions of the transitional constitutional period, must work more effectively and constructively, not giving grounds to any of the political forces to suspect it of political bias. Voices, proposals on coalition in government are being heard at the congress, but I, as a leader and an economic manager, am against a coalition, which would lead to the government turning from a working body into a site for political discussions and contradictions. [applause]

I agree with many speakers, including the president, who have said from this platform that the regions and the main political forces should be represented in the composition of the government. However, it should not be a government merely for the sake of being a government. The people working in the government must not only want to do so, they should be able to, they should know what to do and how. They must not fear the very heavy burden of responsibility for their work and for Russia. Furthermore, a government of consensus also means consensus in work and in the implementation of decisions. It means professionals, but professional administrators of the first caliber, people who understand the essence of the events taking place and the essence and the substance of the economic reforms.

Do such professionals exist? Of course they do. And I can tell the congress that there are people sitting in this hall with whom I have spoken more than once, whom I have asked to work in our government, and from whom I received nothing but sympathy in return. Incidentally, they can say so here, the people in this hall with whom I have had those conversations. I have another thing to tell you today. After yesterday's session of congress, when I arrived at work, I received a telegram. It isn't long, I can read it out. [an unidentified voice from the hall calls out, "No, it's short."]

Esteemed Viktor Stepanovich! In connection with the speech at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies by Mr. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Council of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party proposes the candidature of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, for the post of foreign minister of the Russian Federation.

I do not, by the way, know Mr. Zhirinovskiy personally. Maybe he is a great expert in these affairs, but he is no good at writing telegrams. There has been a great deal of talk, both yesterday and today, about our external economic policy. There is something for us to reflect on here: We have questions, we have problems, including problems with the people with whom we are working.

But to speak more seriously, I can say once again from this platform: We invite the leaders of the regions and the political parties and movements, the trade unions, entrepreneurs, everyone who supports Russia's interests and is seeking ways to revive it, to take part in broad-based consultations on the composition of the government.

There is another method of achieving concord that the government can propose: the conclusion of an all-national package of economic solidarity. At the moment there are many roundtables—political and professional—and a general agreement between the unions and the government is being developed, but there are insufficient unifying ideas connected to taking the country out of the political, economic, and social crisis. I spoke about people's trust in the state without which there can

be no normal work. We need to get beyond the empty, dull question of who is out-legitimizing whom. We do not need impeachments today, but a clear and sensible answer, arrived at by us all together, and answer to the questions of how to move political reform forward, how to establish concrete conditions for the people to express its will, and how to arrive at the adoption of a new Russian constitution.

And while we do not have one, the government will rigorously observe the letter and the spirit of the current Basic Law.

It is precisely these common goals that can become the basis for a compromise and keep us all within the bounds of the constitutional arena. This is the source of rational and responsible politics directed toward the benefit and the resurrection of Russia.

In conclusion, in the most difficult situation the most correct decision is one that is taken according to conscience and moral standards. We have a heavy burden on our hands—that of Russian statehood. It is not perfect. It is not convenient for everyone. But we must not drop it or break it. We will not be able to keep hold of this burden today without the president. It will weigh down some, it will crush some, some will run away, and some, like certain true comrades-in-arms, in quotation marks, will hurry to renounce—they are already running away today, they will scatter.

Let's stop being intolerant and check personal ambitions. All our actions should have one logic, the fulfilling of our duty to our own people. We need to work. Thank you.

Commentator Views Question of Dismissing President

LD2703122393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1030 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Over to the Grand Kremlin Palace. At the microphone is our commentator Olga Vasilenko:

[Vasilenko] The congress has reached its culmination. The most important issue is now to be decided: whether or not to dismiss the president. Yes, that's the way the question is being put.

The point is that after speeches, vivid and involved, by Deputies Travkin and Tuleyev, Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov put to the vote a draft resolution on urgent measures to preserve the constitutional system in Russia. He wanted a vote on whether to adopt the draft as a basis, but it was clear after the vote that the draft had not been accepted as a basis.

What would happen next? Ruslan Imranovich proposed to put to a vote the first point of the draft that was not accepted as a basis. Again, the point was not passed either. This is what the first point says: To take cognizance of the conclusion of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation on the conformity to the Constitution of the Russian Federation of the actions and decisions of Russian President Yeltsin connected with his address to the citizens of Russia on 20 March 1993, and to regard them as an impermissible violation of the Russian Constitution and the laws of the Russian Federation by the president of the Russian Federation.

What next? The standing orders group then swung into action saying that one could not put to a vote the question of dismissing the president—and that proposal came most recently from Aman Tuleyev—without including it on the agenda. It had to be included in the agenda and then voted on.

I should explain that the dismissal question is being posed on the basis of Article 121.10. This article says: The president of the Russian Federation may be dismissed when there is violation of the Constitution and the laws of Russia as well as the oath that he took. Such a decision is taken by the Congress of People's Deputies, on the basis of a conclusion by the Constitutional Court, by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of the total number of people's deputies.

So, now the question was posed of including or not including that question in the voting. Moreover, Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov said: I'm sure we shall make a wise decision. The question was put to a vote and here are the results: 475 for including the question of dismissing the president, 337 against. So the question does not go forward.

Ruslan Imranovich, evidently wondering what to do next, proposed that the second question should be considered—on political censorship of television. But, alas, support for this was somehow not forthcoming, and there was an element of general confusion. So the proceedings have been adjourned, and conferring and coordination on the actions of the congress will evidently take place.

That's what's happening at the Congress at the moment. Right now, though, I repeat, there is a break.

Congress Votes Down Impeachment Issue

LD2703110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1051 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—The 9th Congress of the People's Deputies has decided against putting an item concerning the impeachment of the president on the agenda.

The item was put to the vote, with 475 deputies voting for putting it on the agenda, 337 opposed the idea, and 46 abstained. However, the number of aye votes proved not enough for the item to be put on the agenda.

The congress has now adjourned for the deputies to be able to discuss the obtaining situation in the factions.

Kostikov Says Fear 'Looming' Over Congress

LD2703185293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1418 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Interview with Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov by Mayak parliamentary correspondent Olga Vasilenko—live or recorded]

[Text] [Vasilenko] Vyacheslav Vasilyevich, I would like to know the following: What is your attitude to the proposal to relieve from their posts the persons who prepared the address? One can hear very often, at the congress, that the presidential entourage must be called to account; these people have even been referred to as a collective Rasputin. You are, as it were, this very entourage.

[Kostikov] I am not Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's entourage, I am his press secretary. To a degree, I am the president's voice, but of course not his entourage, though the president and myself communicate daily, constantly. As for the desire of the congress to make short work of those who allegedly prepared the address, I must say that the address was initiated and mainly authored by the president, first of all. Even though individual phrases or formulations may have been worded by other people, the question is here only of expressing president's ideas. This is, purely and simply, yet another way to spite the president, by hook or by crook. Removing the people who took part in preparing the address—this is a somewhat euphemistic way of saying: Remove the president.

Besides, it is with sadness I hear these utterances—this says a lot for the moral and ethical level of the congress: constant attempts to get someone to resign, to make short shrift of someone, to tread someone under foot. They won't be satisfied, incidentally, with destroying individuals, like Kozyrev, Shakhray, or Chubays. Some time later they will want to make short work of Chernomyrdin, because he, as it were, refused to dance to Khasbulatov's tune. They are ready to destroy whole institutions: to dissolve the Federal Information Center, to seize television, to usurp the whole of information space.

Of course, censorship of any kind on television and radio is not at issue—I regularly watch television and listen to the radio, and I must say that Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov can be seen on the screen about 10 times more frequently than the president. The president displays a certain restraint. He addresses people when there is indeed something to be said. And since our congresses and Supreme Soviet sessions are constantly relayed, Ruslan Imranovich appears several times a day, like a starlet from some foreign soap. That's why I believe the Supreme Soviet and the congress should not be complaining that they are not given enough air time.

[Vasilenko] On my monitor screen, I can see you very often in the hall. What do you feel there?

[Kostikov] You know, it is a painful spectacle. I would say that two black angels are looming over the congress, that of vengeance and that of cowardice. I do not mean here the small number of deputies who behave in a rather distinguished way, I do not know how many of them there are, about 280, or 300, maybe more—I have not counted them. These are perfectly normal balanced people. However, most deputies are, as you know, former high party executives, or former leaders of soviets. So the main tune is that of vengeance—to take revenge for their defeat, their being ousted and so on.

[Vasilenko] But now one would never believe they perceive themselves as losers.

[Kostikov] No, not now. On the other hand, you understand, they have come to this congress with one single goal. Saying that they came here to find a way to stabilize the constitutional system is cheating, for they came here with one goal—to trample the president, destroy him, impeach him. But they did not have the guts to do this, because fear is already looming over the congress. For the president's address to the people—a mild, compromising, proper one, in line with the position he took at both the Eighth Congress and this congress, when he was ready to [word indistinct]—all of this aroused a huge wave of support for the president. You can see for yourself, there are rallies throughout the country, and yesterday, for instance, there was a big concert of prominent performers. That is what they fear—the people, who are backing the president, the people who would sweep them away, just as a gale sweeps away a rotten bit of wood, should they dare do anything to the president. This fear is looming. That is why they did not dare impeach the president, because they understood that this would be the congress's own undoing. But one way or the other, the congress is in agony.

Filatov, Shakhray Assail Congress Attacks

LD2703213893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1103 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 27 March—Why were there so many often quite unacceptable attacks on the president's entourage during the congress? Answering this question by the ITAR-TASS correspondent, Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration, said that deputies responsible for these attacks are doing it "because they obviously don't dare to directly attack the head of state and so they try to get their way through his entourage." [passage omitted]

"I think that the malicious tone in some deputies' statements with regard to the president's entourage is caused by their fear to openly face Boris Yeltsin, and so they try to blame everything on the president's entourage," the head of the president's administration explained.

Vice Premier Shakhray was even more categorical during the conversation with the ITAR-TASS correspondent: "They want to deprive the president of professionals on whom he relies and to present Boris Yeltsin as a person unable to take decisions." S. Shakhray added that the opposition wants to "neutralize the entourage and then to remove the president himself."

Sergey Shakhray noted that this is a method that has already been used. "Boris Yeltsin is a decisive man, and no entourage would be able to change many of his decisions," he said.

Zorkin Addresses Congress on Court's Position

LD2703154493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1340 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Address by Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of Russian Constitutional Court, to the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman, esteemed deputies, believe me I did not want to appear here at the rostrum, and the Constitutional Court would consider this to be inappropriate. Yesterday, we expressed our viewpoint. It was expressed in the report of the Constitutional Court to the Congress of People's Deputies, and in principle and essence we have nothing to add and nothing to subtract from it.

I can just reaffirm that in view of the circumstances that came about, we considered the question of the president's actions under Article 65.1 of the Russian Federation Constitution and under Article 74 of the Law on the Constitutional Court, but we do not have the final say on this issue. Everything is decided by the congress. Obviously you are in possession of the constitution containing Article 121.10, but before deciding this issue you should probably take cognizance of and weigh the whole situation and the whole sum of circumstances in order to reach your decision, not just in an abstract way thinking that the article exists and that is all, but on the basis of the specific historical circumstances existing at the present time when you have to tackle this issue and reach a decision on it.

On the basis of our authority and standing in the defense of the constitutional system and the state and level of constitutional legality, we set forth our viewpoint yesterday that in respect of unilateral actions, including if certain people resort to impeachment or the contrary, the view of the Constitutional Court is that the consequences should be calculated. The consequences, you will recall from our report, could be a breakdown of the constitutional system. We proposed to you an approximate scheme to provide a constitutional and legislative way out of this crisis.

Ultimately everything pivots on two [corrects himself] one question: that is, early elections if there is no other way to resolve a constitutional conflict. The president has said the time for compromises is over; he is turning to the people. You have said that you too are in this situation. So, effectively, this question splits into two questions: Do you have confidence in the president, or more precisely, are early elections of the president needed, and are early elections of the Congress needed?

Please understand us correctly. We resolve, let's say, the purely normative-legal side of it, from the point of view of how you have drawn up the constitution. That is where the principles and the norms are laid down. We proceeded strictly from that, and no one can reproach us for this—whatever voices are heard about us becoming politically involved or not. We defended the constitutional principles, proceeding from the situation. Yours is the last step. You have the legal possibilities, but you will have to think about what you are going to make of them for the defense of the constitutional order and preservation of Russia.

Ryabov Addresses Congress on Draft Resolution

LD2703202393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1404 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Address by Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of Russian Supreme Soviet, to Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies, esteemed Presidium. The drafting commission has carefully studied all the comments and suggestions by people's deputies, the Constitutional Court, and representatives of the president and government on the draft resolution on urgent measures to safeguard the constitutional structure of the Russian Federation. We have just received a draft resolution in which to a certain extent—I would say to a fair extent—the decisive part has been reinforced, bearing in mind the basic demands put forward by people's deputies. But first of all I would like to bring to the attention of the congress the fact that we confirm our whole line as set by the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies, working toward enacting constitutional reform within the framework of the Russian Constitution.

What does this mean? It means we will continue to work persistently on developing draft basic clauses for the new constitution, agreeing on it with federation subjects, and subsequently presenting it for an all-Russia referendum. It means we emphasize that it is essential to immediately develop draft laws connected with elections of people's deputies, connected with political parties and social movements, connected with the activity of state TV and radio companies and others. We emphasize that we will continue to work persistently to form a legal mechanism to implement the Federation Treaty, and we emphasize that we will very soon set up the special commission with the participation of federation subjects, as set down by the Eighth Congress.

I would now like to draw your attention to the contents of the first point. It has been changed in a fundamental way. First of all, the draft resolution confirms that the

president's appeal, according to the conclusion of the Constitutional Court, violates the Russian Constitution. At the same time, the personal responsibility of the Russian president for increasing the confrontation between the authorities and the political confrontation in society is noted. In order to overcome the unconstitutionality of several presidential decrees, which particularly worsen the political confrontation in society, an instruction is being given to the Supreme Soviet to petition the Constitutional Court to examine the constitutionality of a number of decrees. At the same time, the validity of presidential decrees on the activities of the executive bodies until the overcoming of the crisis; on Russian presidential representatives in krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous districts, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg; on the reformation of the military structures for border and internal troops on the territory of the north Caucasus region of the Russian Federation; and on state support for the Cossacks is suspended until the Russian Constitutional Court reaches a conclusion. The drafting commission suggests that putting the question in this way is in complete accordance with both the constitution and the law on the president. At the same time, once more we draw the attention of the president to the fact that it is necessary to abolish the institution of Russian presidential representatives, and we note that the president has not fulfilled this decision by the Seventh and Eighth Congresses of People's Deputies. In our draft resolution, we emphasize and support the timeliness of the actions taken by the Constitutional Court to defend the constitutional system of the Russian Federation and the unshakeability of the fundamental principles—including the power of the people, respect for human rights, federalism, and the separation of powers—as the basis for the interaction between the legislative and executive authorities for consensus between them. This, then, is what the content of the first point is now like. It is rather complex, but, nonetheless, contains real measures, aimed at overcoming this political crisis.

The second point presupposes, in a constructive spirit and without assessments of the actions by the president or the Supreme Soviet chairman aiming at overcoming the crisis of power and re- establishing political stability, that it is recommended to the Russian president and the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet that they decide voluntarily to resign.

In the third point, in keeping with the proposals made by the president and the chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers alike, as well as by a number of people's deputies and the Russian vice president, it is recommended that the Russian president form a coalition government, or a government of national consensus, and, apart from that, that all bodies and establishments set up by him fulfilling—I stress—state functions of state government—and such presidential structures do exist—well, that they be transferred within the competence of the Russian Government. In this context, it is recommended that the president abolish the Federal Information Center as a body that not only has functions of state administration, but which, apart from that, simply duplicates to a large extent the activities of the relevant ministries of the Council of Ministers. It is suggested that the president remove from power those who have compromised themselves by preparing the address of the Russian president to Russia's citizens—which does not conform with the Constitution of the Russian Federation—and whose actions are detrimental to the stability of the constitutional system and arouse public discontent.

The fourth point is linked with the necessity of forming new structures of federal power. In this connection, the Constitutional Court demands that the Supreme Soviet examine a draft law concerning the elimination from the constitution clauses contained in Articles 104 and 109 that contradict the principle of the division of powers. Apart from that, it is suggested that the Supreme Soviet prepare a draft law on the setting up of a supreme federal legislative body of the Russian Federation, made up of two chambers; clarify the status of the Russian president; expand the independence of the Federal government; make more specific its responsibility before the people and the parliament for the policy it pursues; and clarify the status of the Russian Constitutional Court.

Allow me not to detail all these clauses; they have been mentioned quite often and in detail in speeches by people's deputies and will be used in developing the law. The Constitutional Commission charges itself with presenting an agreed draft law based on these clauses for examination by the Supreme Soviet and for subsequent presentation to the Congress of People's Deputies for examination and, naturally, approval. Further, point six was given serious discussion at commission meetings, where it says: apart from preparing draft laws on implementing the Federation Treaty, preparing a document that envisages the setting up of consultative meetings made up from among representatives of federation subjects to coordinate activity of bodies of state power of federation subjects with federal bodies. We understand very well the threat contained within the formation of such a body, under the provisional name of a Federation Council, if it is assigned coordinating functions or functions of agreeing on certain questions that must be decided by a federal body of power. But alongside this, the editorial commission points out that an institution of this kind practically exists today, blatantly, and it is being successfully used by both parliament and president to agree on the policy of the Russian Federation.

We would assume that it is possible and essential to formalize this process and to ensure that an essential legal foundation is in place, enabling this body to work constructively and not be used in such a partisan manner to destroy the balance of power, nor to use these bodies belonging to one branch of the authority or another to further its own interests. Here, then, is what the content of the draft resolution is like, and I ask the esteemed Congress to have it adopted as the basis. Ruslan Imranovich, please have it put to a vote.

Yeltsin Comments on Constitutional Violations

LD2703154093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1438 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Speech by President Boris Yeltsin at 27 March session of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Chairman, Esteemed People's Deputies: I have to state that instead of getting together and seeking constitutional and political concord, the Congress would lead to even greater confrontation if it adopts this draft resolution as a basis. The draft resolution which was adopted—never mind the violations of the standing orders—was initially adopted and then rejected. Now a further draft resolution is being proposed for adoption and therefore discussion. Now questions have been asked about it. I must say that I, as president, do not agree with this draft resolution.

First, if we do it point by point, then regretfully, with a young statehood, enough violations of the Constitution have been committed equally by the Supreme Soviet, the Government, the president, and the Constitutional Court. That is why it is unfair to blame only the president alone for this. We have enough materials and enough basis to say that some 300 violations have been committed by the Supreme Soviet in deviating from constitutional norms. But we and I personally think that this of course is not some kind of norm and should not be considered. It must evidently just be thought that we are a young and growing democratic republic, and that these mistakes will probably, on a gradually decreasing scale, be made.

It is unlikely that they can be excluded completely because even today, during these three days of the Congress [Yeltsin corrects himself] the two days of the Congress, I am sorry. I am sorry. During the two days of the Congress several deviations from the Constitution have been made, which are of course inadmissible. Second, I would not regard it as sound for the Congress to interfere in the activities of the presidential apparatus. [Crowd shouts: "It has a duty to."] No, it does not have a duty. It is the president who, having listened to criticism at the Congress, has a duty to draw his own conclusions, that he does have a duty to do.

Naturally, the president will draw appropriate conclusions of this kind. That is the second thing. The fact that for international judicial practice our people insert these points in resolutions is, I think, not quite respectable for the Russian Congress of People's Deputies.

Third, with respect to being responsible, as I have already said, I consider that if you write personally, I agree to write personally, but then let us write Yeltsin personally, Khasbulatov personally, or Zorkin personally. [applause]

All three authorities have allowed deviations; all three branches of authority have allowed this crisis. They, the three authorities, must be answerable accordingly, and that is why all three branches of authority and their leaders must figure in this resolution.

Fourth, I do not understand why all the time people refer to the president's entourage. Why not the entourage of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet or the entourage of some other branch of authority? Why always the president's entourage? These are people [shouts from the hall] I would ask you to hear me out. These are people working out of a sense of duty and conscience, but I agree with you that of course certain changes must be made, and when I gave a speech here at the Congress I said that these changes would have to be made in the Government as well.

I did not say anything about a government of national trust. I do not know what kind of government of national trust there could be which would be absolutely trusted by the whole people.

Evidently, such a government would have to do a bit of work to earn this national trust and it is only after that it could be called a government of national trust, rather than by default, let us straight away call it a government of national trust. My view is that it is possible to strengthen the Government. Just as I said in my speech, these can be representatives from the Federation, the subjects of the Federation, the Russian Federation, and also representing responsible parties and public organizations of the Russian Federation.

Their candidacies will be put forward and will be scrutinized very attentively both by Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Government and by me, should he have any doubts. Further, esteemed people's deputies, we have assembled in order to arrive at a consensus. Are we do go home in discord? We shall not be understood, neither by the Russian people nor by those who voted for us; we will not be understood here. Of course along with you, I perhaps—or no perhaps about it—bear the greater share of responsibility for this kind of situation, but you too adopted decisions at past congresses. It is not that I want to accuse you here; rather, these decisions were correct but, unfortunately, we have so far been unable to have them implemented.

I believe that it is necessary to calm down. If you don't want to allocate time—well that's the congress' business. But at least, let's make a calm, balanced, draft resolution. So people here, Russians, calm down and begin to work. For today, they are occupied only in political battles at all levels: the hamlet, village, rayon, town, oblast, autonomous soviets. Very unfortunate. I ask you not to adopt this resolution. I ask you to adopt a resolution with one point, or two at most. First, take into account the report by the chairman of the Constitutional Court. Second, the president, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Constitutional Court, and the chairman of the government are immediately, within a week, to work out all measures leading to concord between all branches of authority. [applause] And finish this!

I am not asking you to list who should be dismissed from the presidential structures of those who deal with issues of an apparatus nature. I am asking you to adopt a decision made up of these two decisions, these items. We shall pacify the people, we shall pacify ourselves. We will work well, properly for the cause, for both politics and economics. Of course, we are obliged to ensure one and the other, so to speak, but we will not excite the people. Today, outside the gates there is already confrontation. Today, you and I should leave this chamber having said that between ourselves there is confidence, that between ourselves there is accord, that between ourselves there is agreement, and Russians—calm down. Thank you. [applause]

Parliament Press Service Chief on Resignation Issue

LD2703134893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1347 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—Konstantin Zlobin, the parliament's press service chief, is of the opinion that there is logic in including a point envisaging voluntary resignations of the president and the parliament speaker in a congressional draft resolution.

"Politics becomes too personified and a question about voluntary resignations will not be overdramatic," Zlobin told journalists. He recalled that Ruslan Khasbulatov had repeatedly stated his readiness to resign "for the good of the cause".

A draft resolution "on urgent measures aimed at keeping the constitutional system of the Russian Federation", circulated by the Drafting Commission of the Congress on Saturday, suggests voluntary resignations of Boris Yeltsin and Ruslan Khasbulatov who are blamed for the aggravation of relations between the two branches of power.

Majority Supports Idea on Creating Federation Council

OW2803100293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1616 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The initiators of an agreement on Russia's Council of Federation held a press conference in an interval between the sittings of the 9th Congress of the People's Deputies. They announced that 73 out of 89 Federation's subjects have already supported the idea on creation of a Council of Federation. Representatives of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Karelia, and Sakha (Yakutia) reconfirmed their readiness to participate in the work of this body.

Boris Yefimov, the governor of Nizhny Novgorod, reported to Interfax that Council of Federation is planned as an independent consultative organ which will not subordinate to any federal structures of power. Power organs have the right not to agree to the opinion of Council of Federation which, in its turn, does not pretend to be transformed into one of the parliament's chambers.

The head of the Nizhny Novgorod administration Andrey Nemtsov pointed out that the strive to create Council of Federation is explained not by the fact that "the center is weak but by the fact that the weak center does not want to take into consideration the strive of the regions to preserve stability." He put it more clear: "We are uniting not with the aim to command but because there is a threat to the life of provinces." Nemtsov sees this threat primarily in the abolition of the economic course and in blocking the governmental privatization program by the parliament.

The initiators of an agreement on Council of Federation reported at the press conference that they gathered on the eve and during the 9th Congress of People's Deputies and decided that it is necessary to conduct a referendum on confidence in the President and the Deputies corps. In case the population gives an affirmative answer two times, it will be necessary to conduct premature elections of both branches of supreme power.

Congress Decision on Restoration of Savings Viewed

LD2703172693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1715 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—A decision of the 9th People's Deputies Congress will provide for the restoration of population savings depreciated by the inflation.

Presenting to the congress evening session the draft corresponding resolution, Russian Supreme Economic Council Head Vladimir Ispravnikov stressed the issue concerns one hundred million investors of the Russian Savings Bank. The aim of the resolution is to restore the purchase capacity "of all savings kept on population accounts before January 1, 1992."

The congress resolution instructs the Russian Council of Ministers, the Supreme Economic Council, the Russian Central Bank and the Russian Savings Bank to elaborate within a month and submit to the Supreme Soviet the procedure of transferring money to citizens' accounts and their use for preservation of purchase capacity of savings kept on population savings bank accounts before January 1, 1992.

Shumeyko Criticizes Deputies' Lack of 'Morality'

LD2703221693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Mar 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In an interview with our correspondent today, Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko asked viewers to take a close look at what's going on and call their deputies to tell them what they think about events in Moscow.

[Begin Shumeyko recording] The actual resolution is simply horrifying. It is clearly aimed at wrecking everything that is holding Russia together right now. I'll read you one clause of what the deputies are being asked to adopt. [Reads from document] To suspend the decree by the president of the Russian Federation on the activities of the executive authorities until the power crisis is overcome. We all know the Cossacks' reaction to the president's decree: They are very happy with it and support it entirely. They're ready to act in support of the president, but the proposal here is to repeal that decree.

The very fact that this resolution was submitted shows the total lack of—I don't know what—morality or a sense of decency or concern for the fate of Russia. I simply don't know. How can responsible people even write all this? Everyone sitting in this hall, 1,000 or so, all they do is give their advice. Every day they talk about the great responsibility placed upon them. Well, they don't sense that responsibility judging from the way they're behaving. You can see what it's leading to. Never mind the verbal battles, the sackings and the government reshuffles. What we must do is stop things from going as far as bloodshed or war. We have to stop it. [end recording]

Roundup of 27 March Congress Proceedings

LD2703203393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1936 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS writer Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—The situation at the 9th Congress of Russian People's Deputies became heated this afternoon, although the adoption of mutually acceptable decisions seemed real in the morning.

The basically approved draft resolution on the referendum considerably differs from a document suggested by the president, and the improved draft resolution "On Emergency Measures To Preserve the Russian Constitutional System" carries a number of provisions, which are not acceptable for the president and hit a blow on the executive power system.

After canceling the agenda item on impeachment, it seemed the most dramatic congress moment was gone and the main thing would be pre-term elections, the more so practically none objected against the referendum of April 25.

The majority of speakers, including Government Head Viktor Chernomyrdin, supported today the idea of pre-term presidential and parliamentary elections. However, the basically approved congress resolution on referendum did not formulate questions in the president's way.

The drafting commission left unchanged only the wording on confidence in the president and added three more questions. The resolution also plans to ask Russians whether they support the president's economic reform course and this year's elections of the president and deputies.

Presidential representative Sergey Shakhray said the simple question on confidence in the president is "deliberately planned to fall into three questions"—on confidence, on estimation of his social-economic course and on the need for pre-term elections.

The official said he is categorically against this and noted if the president is given the vote of no-confidence he will resign and elections will be held in three months.

Many deputies objected against the estimation of the social- economic policy. For instance, Nikolay Travkin said "the majority of people associate the reform policy with today's impoverishment instead of civilized market and democratic civil state".

It is not difficult to forecast if the question is put on referendum, the majority will answer negatively.

Congress events grew especially dramatic when the improved draft resolution on "Emergency Measures To Preserve the Russian Constitutional System" was read out. The document seemed to be a direct congress challenge to the president. It is enough to mention deputies were offered to "note personal responsibility" of Boris Yeltsin "for enhanced confrontation of the authorities and political confrontation in society".

The parliament was offered to appeal to the Constitutional Court with an application to verify the constitutional character of a number of presidential decrees, and suspend the validity of several other decrees. The draft also envisaged the abolition of the president representatives' institute in territories, regions and districts.

The president and the Supreme Soviet were offered to "take a joint decision on voluntary resignation", the next item offered the president to form a coalition government, abolish the Russian Federative Information Center and "remove from their posts officials, who compromised themselves with preparations of the president's appeal to Russian citizens on March 20, 1993".

Deputies ignored requests of the presidential representative to announce a one-hour break to let him study the document, "which interferes in competence of the president and his staff".

Then, Boris Yeltsin tried to save the situation by making a conciliatory speech. The president admitted his mistakes in the part of economic reforms and violations of the Constitution, but called on the congress, the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Court to admit their share of responsibility for the situation.

"It is not just to accuse only the president," he said.

Yeltsin insistently called on the congress for concord and search for a compromise, which he described as impossible a day before. He called for calming down people and calming down themselves. In the president's words, the draft resolution should be replaced with a brief document to instruct the president, the Supreme Soviet chairman, the Constitutional Court chairman and the government chairman "to immediately, within a week, elaborate all measures to achieve concord of the three power branches".

The president's speech was convincing and emotional. It could have produced greater impression on deputies, if the confrontation was not that deep and deputies did not remember recent tough speeches of the state head. In the extremely tense atmosphere deputies preferred to close today's session and continue the congress tomorrow.

Many observers doubt whether the majority will support the president proposal tomorrow, although the congress will hardly be able to fully ignore his appeals for another compromise attempt.

Yeltsin and his team will, certainly, "estimate possibilities" and get ready for tomorrow. However, it is hard to imagine how the state head will tackle the situation if the congress votes for the draft.

Further on Proceedings

LD2703215993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2036 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—The main result of the second day of the Ninth Congress of Russia's People's Deputies is obvious: The president's opponents failed to put on the agenda of the second day of the congress the issue on the impeachment to the president. 475 deputies voted for the putting the issue on the agenda, 337 deputies voted against, 46 abstained. However, the number of votes was not sufficient to change the agenda.

A very tough draft resolution "On emergency measures to preserve the Russian constitutional system" was not adopted today. Undoubtedly, Boris Yeltsin's appeal played its part, which urged deputies to look for accord.

The president objected to a number of items of the draft, and did not agree, in particular, with the desire to make the president responsible for the crisis. In his words, the Supreme Soviet, the government, the president and the Constitutional Court, they all infringed the constitution.

The final voting on the entire draft resolution as well as another item - the referendum will be held on Sunday.

The president has objections to this draft too. He proposed to retain in the bulletin of the referendum scheduled for April 25 the two following issues: "Do you have confidence in the president?" and "Do you have confidence in the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies?"

The speech by Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers became a noticeable event at today's session. He supported the idea of holding preterm elections of people's deputies and the president, as well as of setting up the council of the federation, which, in his view, could "grow later into a chamber of parliament."

A decision of the 9th People's Deputies Congress will provide for the restoration of population savings depreciated by the inflation.

Presenting to the congress evening session the draft corresponding resolution, Russian Supreme Economic Council Head Vladimir Ispravnikov stressed the issue concerns one hundred million investors of the Russian Savings Bank. The aim of the resolution is to restore the purchase capacity "of all savings kept on population accounts before January 1, 1992."

After his speech the draft submitted by him was put on vote and adopted.

On Sunday the congress continues its deliberations.

Yeltsin 'Weariness' Reported by 'Competent Circles'

LD2703193593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent has asked competent circles to assess the president's physical condition. These sources reported that in the afternoon of 27 March, Boris Yeltsin attended routine medical treatment, in the course of which he was given deep body massage. While being massaged, the president learned of the developments at the congress and decided to go immediately to the hall where the deputies' forum was in progress. He did not even have time to readjust his clothes and general appearance after a hot shower. This explains, among other things, a change in the Russian president's hair-style, which everyone had got used to.

Boris Yeltsin's condition also strongly reflected his weariness from the events of the last 24 hours, and his feelings in connection with his mother's death.

Kostikov Denies Reports

LD2803080493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0725 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar—Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian president's press secretary, has denied rumors that Boris Yeltsin's health is deteriorating. Today, in the lobbies of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, prior to the start of the session, he stated that the president on the whole "is feeling all right."

Vyacheslav Kostikov admitted that yesterday "the president had indeed appeared somewhat bloated." However it needs to be recognized, he said, that a week ago Boris Yeltsin buried his mother. "He is taking it very hard. For him it has been a tremendous psychological stress," the press secretary noted.

In addition "he has recently been sleeping very poorly at nights"—just two or three hours—as a consequence of his heavy work load.

"Yesterday, in order to relax, the president played tennis during the interval and returned to the Congress directly from the court," Vyacheslav Kostikov said. He emphatically rejected the allegations by political opponents that there are other reasons for the president's tired appearance.

Yeltsin Grants Interview

LD2703180993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Video report from the Kremlin on President Boris Yeltsin's remarks to journalists after conclusion of 27 March session of Congress of People's Deputies; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Despite the fairly dramatic turn of events today, at the end of the day, Russian President Boris Yeltsin once again voiced his hope that the congress will move toward a compromise: we have a chance for constructive cooperation.

[Yeltsin] But I wanted to talk to the deputies [words indistinct].

[Unidentified journalist] One question. How will the confrontation finally end?

[Yeltsin] I think it will end in agreement.

[Journalist] There has not been much movement in that direction, has there?

[Yeltsin] Yes, there has.

[Journalist] But you are not afraid that ...

[Yeltsin, interrupting, grinning] That's enough. [Video shows Yeltsin faced by crowd of journalists pushing and shoving each other]

Further on Yeltsin Interview

LD2703182993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] We have already reported that Boris Yeltsin managed to find a few minutes today after the congress session to speak to a group of journalists in St. George's Hall in the Kremlin.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] I have not slept for the third night running.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, Radio Rossii. Boris Nikolayevich, has the so-called constitutional agreement been reached? We know what happened to it and it seems that you have proposed a similar variant now—for all the heads of all powers, representatives of all powers to get together and come to some kind of an agreement. What will be its meaning, so that the people may understand and support it?

[Yeltsin] Its meaning is that there should be no demands upon the president such as those that are stated in the draft decision. I cannot accept such demands. This is the first thing. The second thing is that we need to come to an agreement on articles of the Constitution which are contradictory in essence, like Article 104, as you know, and so on. So, these are two main questions, I believe.

[Correspondent] Do you think the congress had the right, first, to meet at present, taking into account an emotional situation?

[Yeltsin] It is not up to me to judge. I am a victim, as they say. Those who make the decisions should judge how moral it is. Of course, it has not been easy for me recently; I am still going through difficult times. I was very close to my mother, we were good friends, survived the war, experienced hunger together, lived through difficult times.

[Correspondent] The second, main question. Do you think that the path toward accord will be found at this congress?

[Yeltsin] I think accord is simply necessary since otherwise we will simply make the people blow up, and make Russia blow up. Why cannot deputies understand this? This surprises me. They come from different parts of Russia, they know the mood of the Russian population, they know the mood of electors. We may simply make Russia blow up. It is necessary to find points and positions which will bring us together in order to calm the people down. We have possibilities for constructive cooperation with each other. This is what we should talk about. [end recording]

This was the briefing Russian President Boris Yeltsin gave in the Kremlin today after the evening session of the Congress of People's Deputies.

Yeltsin Calls For Accord

LD2703171893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1645 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Gennadiy Talalayev and Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar—"Accord in society is necessary today, otherwise we may simply make Russia blow up," Boris Yeltsin told journalists after the evening sitting of the Congress of People's Deputies. The president said that the congress should "find points and positions which would bring us together." "We have an opportunity for constructive cooperation," he stressed. Speaking about his attitude to the draft decision of the congress "On Urgent Measures To Preserve the Constitutional System in the Russian Federation," Boris Yeltsin said that he "cannot accept the demands to the president" stated in the draft document prepared by the drafting commission of the congress. Responding to condolences expressed by journalists with regard to the death of his mother, Boris Yeltsin said that he is "in a really trying situation at present." "I find it very difficult to come to terms with my mother's death."

Chernomyrdin Says 'Common Sense' Wins at Congress

LD2703202893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Igor Minayev from the Kremlin, including interview in foyer with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Minayev] In spite of the sharp anti- presidential moods of the irreconcilable opposition and passionate speeches in the foyer of the congress and its session hall, the congress has failed to come up to the worst expectations and failed to repeat the scene depicted in the well-known painting decorating one of the walls of the Great Kremlin Palace. [Video shows painting, depicting battle scene with horsemen in armor brandishing swords and trampling the vanquished.] [passage omitted]

[Minayev addresses Chernomyrdin] A crisis situation has come about in Russia. What is the way out of it, in your view, and can the congress contribute in practice to tackling Russia's problems?

[Chernomyrdin] No matter how much the deputies are being blamed, no matter what is being said about them, no matter what moods they are in, they have common sense, and sense has won here. This sense said today, at least with regard to the first question: What kind of resignation? How can we possibly live in this situation without authority, without discipline, and without order? It is my belief that it is time we lived according to the constitution. What do we live in accordance with? What kind of constitution? See for yourself, it is either Brezhnev's constitution, or some other kind of constitution. We are constantly changing it and adding to it. We make changes and additions to it at every single congress.

What sort of country do we live in? Yes, there is a need for elections today. The elections of both the president and deputies. Both sides said this. The president is agreeing to anything, but they are still trying to put him on the spot all the time.

Now two words about the government. The only one thing which I will never agree with at all is the following: First, the government has its own stance. The government cannot let itself be turned into a club here. This will never happen.

Filatov Says Congress To Again Push To Impeach Yeltsin

OW2803060793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0547 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the presidential administration Sergey Filatov is convinced that the 9th Congress of the Russian People's Deputies will be prolonged in order to again raise an issue on Boris Yeltsin's impeachment.

In his exclusive interview with INTERFAX on Saturday [27 March] he declared that "there are talks to prolong the Congress until Monday in order to make another attempt to stir the situation." The leader of the presidential administration believes that "certain people, in collusion with extreme forces, for example, National Salvation Front" are standing behind these talks.

Filatov is sure that "a legal way should be pursued under the present situation," namely to vote on confidence in the President. If the people express confidence in Yeltsin, then "he will work on the basis of that Constitution which he advocates but not the one which is in force now." Filatov emphasized that in such a case the mechanism on final adoption of the Russian Constitution will be switched on.

If the Russian citizens "fail to demonstrate confidence in the President" then national wide elections will be held in Russia.

According to Filatov, the Congress can solve the issue on the re- election of the deputies corps. Filatov does not rule out that in this case the Congress can call a date coinciding with the date of the presidential elections but "it is up to the people to decide."

Kostikov Says Yeltsin Believes 'Political Wisdom Prevailed'

OW2803061493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0602 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his interview with our INTERFAX correspondent. Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov declared that Russian President Boris Yeltsin is satisfied with the fact that political wisdom prevailed at the 9th Congress of the Russian People's Deputies as a certain part of deputies has blocked the issue to impeach the head of the Russian state.

Irrespective of a decision to be adopted at the Congress, the press secretary continued, the President understands that "even the most conservative Congress is unable 'to overthrow' him." According to Kostikov, now it is possible to say that the conservative part of the Congress has sustained the most serious defeat. The conservatives have failed to commit "a political killing of the President."

In contrast to the 7th and 8th Congresses, the press secretary says, when according to several analysts, the President was too weak, the present Congress "has actually strengthened the President's positions."

Kostikov said that the President would probably come to the Congress as he has remarks on the draft resolution of the forum.

The press secretary also believes that on Sunday [28 March] Boris Yeltsin will speak at a meeting near the Moscow Kremlin.

Majority of Muscovites Continues To Support Yeltsin

LD2703164093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0150 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 27 March—Seventy-three percent of Muscovites are ready to take part in the 25 April referendum; 58 percent of those polled trust Yeltsin and Rutskoy with the reforms, while 17 percent distrust them and, 19 percent are undecided. Fifty-five percent want presidential rule; 22 percent are in favor of parliamentary rule. Fifty-four percent want a new constitution as soon as possible; 29 percent prefer not to make haste. Fifty-one percent think the national referendum ought to decide the fate of the new constitution, while 22 percent do not want the referendum to deal with this issue. The poll, carried out by the independent Mneniye [View] Service, questioned 1,073 people.

'No Antisocial Behavior' in Moscow Demonstration

LD2703170393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1135 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 27 March—The parallel meetings on the Vasilyevskiy Slope in Moscow are so far going off without excesses. Representatives of democratically orientated parties and movements and representatives of patriotic and communist organizations stand opposite each other, separated by militia cordons. The sides, "equipped" with banners, flags, megaphones, and microphones, react in a lively way to the broadcast of the congress session, which is audible from a bus radio. The numbers on each side at 1400 were approximately the same—about 1,000 people each. Songs are being sung, almost like at a festival, only each side has its own songs.

Militia Colonel Viktor Kisilev, deputy head of the city internal affairs directorate, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent, that no antisocial behavior has been noted so far over the last two days. The "prime time" begins at about 1800. On the first day of the congress around 6,000 people gathered on the "democratic side," and about 4,500 on the "patriotic-communist" side. According to the colonel, the officers of the law and order bodies are ordering posters which insult the honor and dignity of statesmen to be taken down.

'Confrontation' Continues

LD2703225393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Mar 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The confrontation on Vasilyevskiy Slope, near the entrance to the Kremlin, goes on. Although, as you can see yourselves, today there are not all that many people. It seems that on one side—the democratic one—there are more of them, but it is easier to get there and it seems that many people simply came to have a look.

On both sides there remain only the most zealous fighters for the ideas; on both sides they are shouting insulting things at the other side and keep on playing songs, each one their own. It seems that the people on both sides have already forgotten what they gathered here for - only the placards and banners remind you of that. Their whole attention is drawn by the enemy, that is those opposite, and the names of Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, Zorkin, Rutskoy, and others get mentioned less frequently, unless it is to vex those at the other end of the square. [Video shows crowd of people near Kremlin wall; people with leaflets, microphones, bullhorns; people with Soviet and RSFSR flags; people with pictures of Yeltsin; people with Soviet flags, tsarist flags and placard saying "Communist is irradicable teaching of Christ the Son of God"; placards "Yeltsin resign", "Khasbulatov to Chechnya".]

Today the militia prevented an incident. A column of democrats was going across the brigde from Zamoskvorechye, approaching the communists from behind. The latter came out to meet them. Fortunately it did not come to blows—so far—but if these are approved rallies, who was it that got into their head to hold them like this, one against the other, one wall against another. Looking at each other the opponents just get more fired up. No one wants to leave first, like boxers in a ring. Let us hope there will be no boxing on Vasilyevskiy Slope. [Video shows militiamen disembarking from truck; running crowd; line of people led by group in camouflage uniforms with the Russian flag.]

[A. Braginskiy, Moscow Government Deputy Prime Minister] Three rallies are planned for tomorrow and two of these are being accompanied by processions.

First, there is a rally and procession of democratic forces which will begin at 1100 in Triumfalnaya Square, that's the former Mayakovskogo Square. The procession will proceed along Tverskaya Street, Manezhnaya Square, and Lubyanskaya Square, and come onto Vasilyevskiy Slope, and there there will be a rally from 1200 until 1400. This rally and procession have been permitted by the Moscow government.

Apart from that, the National Salvation Front has applied with a notice of a meeting from 1200. And the procession route is Arbatskaya Square, Novyy Arbat, and the White House. Taking part in it are 10,000 people, that's what's planned, and the Moscow government has also permitted this rally to go ahead, until 1430.

Working Russia and Working Capital have also applied to the administration under the approporiate procedure with a request to permit a rally in Sovetskaya Square, opposite the Moscow Soviet building. The Moscow government turned this application down and proposed that the rally be held by the square by the Gorkiy Culture Park so as to prevent possible conflicts between political movements of two different orientations.

We ask the viewers not to permit unsanctioned rallies. We have intelligence that the pariticipants in the rally in Sovetskaya Square, a possible rally in Sovetskaya Square, and by the White House are planning to transfer their activities elsewhere, both their rally and their procession. That is not possible, that is not permissible. The government will make every effort to ensure the safety of the city citizens, normal work of the city transport, and the safety of the participants in the processions and rallies. [Video shows documents on table; Braginskiy to camera.]

'Elite Division' Said Stationed Near Parliament

AU2703220293 Paris AFP in English 1851 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, March 27 (AFP)—About 300 elite troops were deployed Saturday night [27 March] near the Russian Parliament building known as the White House, under orders to intervene in less than an hour in case of "disorders."

The Dzerzhinsky division troops, wearing long gray coats and with no visible weapons, said they were there under orders to "maintain the public order."

The elite division—named after Felix Dzerzhinksy, founder of the NKVD, the precursor to the KGB secret police—is based about 20 kilometers (12 miles) east of Moscow and is under President Boris Yeltsin's command.

A lieutenant colonel who commands the division said his orders were to station the troops along Nikolayev street, which runs parallel to but is not visible from the White House.

The column is made up of about 30 troop transport and communications vehicles. "We are waiting for the order to fall back," the officer said as he sat in his jeep. But he did not say whether the troops would spend the night near the parliament.

A Dzerzhinsky column was seen patrolling the area around the parliament early Saturday.

Unit Life Normal Despite Attempts to Play 'Army Card'

PM2603193593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 93 p 1

[Our correspondent report: "What the Army Is Doing"]

[Text] If you tried to paint a generalized picture of the army against the backdrop of raging political passions today, then the most accurate picture would probably be one of a man in a heavy overcoat who is being constantly pulled by the sleeves in different directions. Hence the general avid attention being paid to what the army is doing today, the heap of suppositions, rumors, predictions, and, as usual, discussions to the effect that the military are "up to something" again.

So what is the army doing today and what is it "up to?" Our curious comrades have seen with their own eyes that in the Taman Guards Motorized Rifle Division, for instance, people are living according to ordinary daily routine and are involved in planned training. When I sat down to take some notes, I managed to get through on the telephone to the a Moscow Military District Motorized Rifle Brigade too. The officer on duty explained that there is no one in charge there right now because the personnel are preparing for a check and are "honing their skills," so to speak, at the Gorokhovets camps.

The claims made by certain Western agencies that the Western Group of Forces is being "put on enhanced combat alert" proved to be unfounded. Sergey Pashayev, our correspondent in the Western Group of Forces, reported that the group's press center has made an official statement. It says: The systematic withdrawal of

personnel and hardware, weapons, material and technical reserves is continuing in strict accordance with treaty obligations. The Western Group of Forces staff has naturally given no orders or instructions to introduce enhanced combat readiness in the large units and units.

The Northern Fleet is living a normal life too. As our correspondent Vladimir Gundarov reports, a session of the fleet's military council has been held here, and measures to prevent accidents and the death of personnel on ships and in motor transportation were discussed. And in the large units and large strategic formations, the results of the week's combat training were being discussed yesterday morning.

Such reports have also been received from other regions in the country where districts and fleets are stationed.

I realize that people may object: Well, so what that the daily routine and planned training are normal? But what are the servicemen thinking about, what are they talking about among themselves? Of course, officers and men are living people and they have their own personal sympathies and antipathies, including toward various political leaders, movements, and so on. But, you will agree that it is one thing to be dissatisfied with something, (that is where politicians could join ranks and reflect on how to help the officers corps and the army as a whole, which are by no means living in total happiness), and quite another —God forbid—to click a magazine into an assault rifle or to put a charge into the barrel of a gun.

Every day, people are now saying that the army is outside politics. But, looking at the realities of our life, you realize with regret that some people are once again trying to play the army card.

Political Organizations Continue To Observe Events

Rossiya Demands Dismissal of Yeltsin

OW2703085993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0845 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Rossiya (Russia) parliamentary group has drafted a law to dismiss Boris Yeltsin as president. The draft is based on Article 121 of the constitution and the Law on the Constitutional Court. Under Rossiya's law, Yeltsin would have to be dismissed since, according to the Constitutional Court's decision of March 23, 1993, there were violations of the constitution in his March 20 appeal to the citizens of Russia.

Radical Democrats View Congress

LD2703195193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1842 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—Radical Democrats faction coordinator Sergey Yushenkov told ITAR-TASS today's congress decision not to discuss the Russian president's removal from his post is not a "victory of Boris Yeltsin's supporters, but a mere non-defeat".

Democrats do not exclude "in case of a favourable situation certain forces in the congress hall will try to return to the issue" and gain the 40 votes they lack. The deputy thinks the congress cannot "fulfill legislative tasks".

Radical Democrats faction member Petr Filippov, who is also a member of the Supreme Economic Council under the Supreme Soviet Presidium, believes there is not a possibility for a president- opposition compromise on the social-political course.

The president and his team are determined to hold a reform, similar to that in Poland and the Czech Republic, that is with a strong national currency and orientation at population needs, he stressed. The opposition wants a Chinese-type reform with the economy, part of which is the state sector and the other is the private one.

The state sector will be financed with taxes raised from the private sector and be, in its turn, the financing source for nomenclature firms. In order to hold such an economic policy, the opposition will have to replace a number of ministers with their candidates, said Filippov.

Russian Unity Bloc on Referendum

LD2703194093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1849 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Leonid Timofeyev and Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—A news conference of the Russian Unity opposition bloc held in the break of the 9th Congress voiced the bloc's non-acceptance of the referendum on confidence in the executive and legislative powers and noted pre-term elections of both power branches are the only way out of the political crisis.

In the words of Mikhail Chelnokov, "the deputies did not have enough courage to expose benevolence and provide for President Yeltsin's resignation."

It seems bloc representatives doubt a positive referendum outcome for themselves. Ilya Konstantinov said the plebiscite should be held in accordance with the Russian law "On Referendum," under which the president needs no less than 50 percent of votes of all registered electors to win.

The majority of parliamentary factions actively discussed draft congress documents during the break. Democratic Russia deputies decided not to vote for a draft resolution on referendum offered by the drafting commission. Democratic Russia Leader Sergey Yushenkov

told ITAR-TASS they do not like the planned referendum question of confidence in the economic course conducted under the supervision of Boris Yeltsin. He called for separate questions on confidence in the president and in the Congress of People's Deputies.

Free Russia Coordinator Irina Vinogradova noted her faction will vote with some reservations for the first item of the drafting commission's document on taking into account the Constitutional Court resolution, but will not insist, as radicals would like to, on the president's resignation.

She called against the creation of the federation council with specific functions, since, in this case republics will be able to dictate their will, and this, in her opinion, is fraught with disintegration of the country.

Parliament Faction Supports Referendum

LD2703154393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1358 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—The parliamentary "Accord for the Sake of Progress" faction does not visualise the need to hold simultaneous elections of a president and a Congress of People's Deputies of Russia in Autumn this year, Faction Coordinator Yuriy Nesterov told a news conference here on Saturday [27 March] on behalf of the faction majority.

A congressional draft resolution, prepared by the faction, envisages a preliminary referendum on confidence in the president and the Congress: It is advisable at first to find out the people's will and hold an early election of a branch of power which would be denied confidence.

The holding of separate elections of the executive and representative branches of power would make it possible, in the opinion of the faction members, to avoid a sharp destabilisation of the political system in Russia, which would be inevitable in the event of simultaneous elections.

Setting out the faction's stance, Nesterov said that in the recent period "none of the branches of power evaded going beyond the constitution domain".

Ninth Congress of People's Deputies 28 March Session

Deputies Continue Constitutional Debate

OW2803055393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0542 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During debates at the morning sitting of the 9th Congress of the Russian People's Deputies, a member of the parliamentary coalition of reforms and Russian People's Deputy Vyacheslav Volkov put forward a proposal to liquidate or redistribute authorities of the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet between the parliament's head and leader of the government.

He declared that the existence of two senior officials in the state, the President and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, does not correspond to the idea of power branches' division "in its old Soviet understanding." The main task of parliament speaker, Volkov believes, is to lead the parliament under the presence of strong chambers' chairmen. He proposed to the Congress to consider an issue concerning dismissal of the present head of parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov and his deputies.

Speaking at the Congress of the People's Deputies, Valeriy Babkin proposed to introduce "interim changes" into the Constitution, and, in particular, to exclude the understanding "division of powers." According to Babkin, it is necessary to combine the duties of chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet and the President until authorities of the present deputies corps expire March 1995.

If the Congress passes a decision to conduct a secret ballot on President Yeltsin's impeachment it will be "a senseless act," the chairman of the parliamentary human rights committee Sergey Kovalev declared at the Congress. He emphasized that he would not take part in this "action." He said that the question is not about the President's fate but about Russia's future.

Kovalev expressed "complete disagreement" with the opinion of Ion Andronov, deputy chairman of parliamentary committee on international affairs, who sharply criticized the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on Friday]26 March]. "Thanks to Kozyrev's activity Russia is entering the world community as a civilized state," said Kovalev.

In Kovalev's words, the foreign policy concept proposed by Andronov, this "soldier of cold war," as Kovalev said, is "a Stalinist concept." "Yeltsin has derailed Russia to the dictation of western special services," declared deputy Mikhail Chelnokov. He accused President Yeltsin of "betrayal of his people and country" and called to impeach the president by "secret ballot." Chelnokov pointed out that "the President is creating a confrontation and is looking for the guilty when he fails to do something and results of his actions in the economic sphere are always fruitless".

In addition, the deputy asserted that the President has violated Russia's Constitution more than hundred times. "He regularly violates it, once every five-six days." During his speech at the Congress, Deputy Nikolay Vorontsov accused chairman of the Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin of absence of impartiality and of an attempt to take over functions not characteristic to his post.

The collapse of the former USSR, Vorontsov believes, is a great tragedy rooted in the depth of the vicious Stalinist national policy. Vorontsov said that the true reason which has led to disappearance of the USSR from the political map of the world is not the Belaya Vezha agreement (on creation of the CIS) but an attempted August 1991 coup.

The chairman of the parliament's Council of nationalities Ramazan Abdulatipov sharply criticized President Yeltsin and his address to the people. At the same time he warned against "dragging Yeltsin, parliament, and its chairman through the mire." Abdulatipov thinks that premature elections in Russia cannot be held earlier than spring 1994.

A process of destruction of statehood's idea is underway in Russia, Abdulatipov believes. He called on the President to suspend the March 15 Decree on state support of the Cossacks. Speaker of Council of Nationalities said that this document, which Yeltsin had promised not to sign without additional consultations, violates "the fragile peace" in the North Caucuses and "insults" the Cossacks, to whom "gendarme functions" have been prepared.

A member of parliamentary coalition of reforms Vladimir Varov declared during the debates that despite repeated promises the Congress has failed to fulfill its promise, namely to ask the people who is to rule in Russia. According to Varov, the essence of the 9th extraordinary Congress is "to deny the people the right to solve the most important problems by means of a referendum." Varov also expressed his opinion that "willy-nilly" the Congress assists in Russia's collapse destructing the executive power.

On the proposal of Ruslan Khasbulatov at the morning sitting the deputies (527 votes) satisfied the statement of deputy Viktor Mironov to resign "at his own request." At the previous 8th Congress of the People's Deputies Mironov, a member of the parliamentary coalition of reforms, declared about his resignation as a protest against the forum's decision to cancel the April referendum.

President, Speaker, Prime Minister Reach 'Compromise'

LD2803070893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0651 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Reassuring news spread in the Congress lobby prior to the beginning of Sunday's [28 March] meeting of the Congress of People's Deputies: Two branches of power have reached a compromise.

The president, the parliament speaker and the prime minister of Russia conferred on Sunday morning. An understanding on holding early elections of a president and deputies was reached at the meeting, which was also attended by representatives from republics, territories and regions, First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko told ITAR-TASS.

The elections are to be held in November. This arrangement is to serve as a basis for a new version of a resolution on the first item on the Congress agenda.

It must be recalled that a tough-worded draft resolution "On urgent measures at the constitutional system of the Russian Federation, distributed among the deputies on Saturday night, gave rise to Boris Yeltsin's objections. [no end quotation marks as received] He requested the deputies not to deal with it in haste.

Without exonerating himself of a breach of the Constitution, the president said it was unfair to level accusations only at him: The law was violated by the other branches of power as well. He called on the deputies to seek ways towards rapprochement, not to exacerbate the conflict.

Such ways, it seems, have begun to emerge.

Chernomyrdin Assumes 'Key Role'

LD2803101093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0952 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—At the Congress, Viktor Chernomyrdin apparently assumed a key role in the quest for accord. On Sunday [28 March] morning he met the president, the parliament speaker, the chief justice of the Constitutional Court and representatives of the subjects of the Federation and deputies' factions, Karelian parliament chief Viktor Stepanov told ITAR-TASS.

"An idea to meet in such a format occurred on Saturday after the evening session of the Congress," Stepanov said. "We were, of course, greatly concerned over the arising deadlock. Therefore, during Saturday's conference between Viktor Chernomyrdin, Ruslan Khasbulatov and Valeriy Zorkin with the participation of the president's representatives, it was decided to meet on Sunday morning again and invite Boris Yeltsin to come".

Touching upon the essence of the accord reached, the Karelian parliament chief said "It is not a question of a compromise: there is a sober and clear understanding of the roots of the crisis and trends of its development".

Participants in the meeting arrived at conclusion that a referendum would not provide a way out of the political impasse, Stepanov said.

Khasbulatov Addresses Morning Session

LD2803071393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0605 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Statement by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies! Esteemed president! Constitutional Court, government, and guests of the congress! Of course, as you yourselves perfectly understand, when the session was over [yesterday], the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, factions, the government, the president, and the Constitutional Court, naturally, stayed on to assess the situation which has evolved at this congress, as a whole and in the concrete. I would like to say straightaway that malicious voices rejoicing at others' misfortunes and judgments of all sorts that the congress reached a deadlock, of course, cannot be taken seriously.

Why did the congress reach a deadlock? Because the general economic and sociopolitical situation in the Russian Federation has reached a deadlock and the congress is a mirror reflection of this impasse, to which we have brought our fatherland and ourselves. Naturally, you all perfectly understand, our duty is to propose to the congress concrete ways to end this crisis.

We assessed the situation differently and it could be easily seen in the results of the voting, inter alia on various important issues. Each of you has an opportunity to assess the position, inter alia of the Supreme Soviet leadership and members of the presidium, with maximum clarity and, perhaps, it will tell you something.

It seems to me, we have managed to find the principles on which we can base a realistic way to end this impasse today. There are two parts here. First, as you know I am a person who is not easily frightened. Naturally I was not afraid of any referenda or polls, and I cannot be afraid of them. But I have always opposed these measures in our homeland because I understand very well, as do the majority of you, that this is not intended to set things to rights and for peace and concord, but rather for dissent and an attempt to find out who is better, who is more clever, who is prettier, and so on and so forth.

Naturally when you say that you have to ask people, we here had sufficiently serious grounds to doubt whether they wanted to ask people. On the first point of principle, the president understands this quite well, and gives his agreement that polls and referendums should be abandoned. That is the first point. Second, you also know, and I was one of the first, I think, to talk of the need for simultaneous elections of both president and people's deputies either at the end of this year or no later than spring 1994. We have reached agreement on this matter too. This can be carried out this year on 21 November if the appropriate will of the president and the congress is reflected here again.

If the congress considers that these two fundamental points are of sufficient substance to reach agreement upon, then personally, I must assure you—I have not spent my time switching my stand this way and that. Anyway, these two points at least are fundamental and we could reach agreement on this. In order to calm those deputies who are naturally worried, just as the president is, about their future—we are also proposing a mechanism to guarantee normal working in line with the periods of time stipulated by the Constitution.

Naturally, in our full resolution, we must envisage all possible options and spell out in detail how this might be implemented. Therefore, we are not proposing as we once did—and I have already admitted my mistake in doing this—let's just put it to the vote immediately and so on—therefore, please allow me not to talk about the remaining points but just these two most important elements of this agreement—and in this particular case it can be described as an agreement as this resolution will reflect our real accord and agreement. We could in this way then build our work in the future.

I would like to declare a one hour adjournment so that you can, without having to rush, together with the professionals, together with your professional groups and the regional representatives, with the involvement of the factions—so that we can agree some details. Thank you. That is what I wanted to say to you. Now people can exchange views if they want.

Yeltsin Willing To Suspend Decree

LD2803073293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0709 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Statement by President Boris Yeltsin to the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies! I have a small remark to make in addition to the speech by Ruslan Imranovich. Of course, I have not signed a decree, or more accurately, I have not canceled the decree of 20 March to hold the referendum.

If the resolution—this what we discussed with representatives from the regions and from some factions—if the resolution is adopted in this form, I will suspend [uproar in the audience], I will suspend the decree and keep my word not to hold the voting.

Resolution Circulated

LD2803174293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0714 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—On Sunday [28 March] morning participants of the 9th Congress of People's Deputies received a new congressional draft resolution "On Overcoming the Crisis of Power and Keeping the Constitutional System of the Russian Federation". The

document reflects the accords reached by the two branches of power earlier on Sunday.

The main point of the draft resolution is the recognition of the need for early elections of a president and deputies, to be held at the end of November. In that case, no referendum would be held. A new president and a legislature are expected to enter upon their duties on February 15, 1994.

The document does not contain accusations with regard to the president in view of his televised address and decrees but only makes a note of the ruling of the Constitutional Court.

The Supreme Soviet (parliament) is to be instructed to pass bills on the elections of a president and people's deputies, and on political parties not later that mid-June.

The draft resolution suggests that the president consolidate the government and, with this end in view, hold consultations with the political parties and subjects of the federation.

Faction Leaders, Deputies Address Congress

Workers Union's Ogorodnikov

LD2803080593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0717 28 Mar 93

[Speech by Ogorodnikov, from the Workers Union faction, to the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Congress, esteemed Presidium, esteemed President: My faction has empowered me to ask a few questions and announce our decisions, the decisions of the faction.

First: Why has the president renounced his suggestion of a referendum? Why has he renounced his thoughts of yesterday on developing a mechanism for concord between the authorities over a period of a few days? What situations changed in the country last night to bring him to today's suggestion? And why did we not hear his speech?

We cannot adopt the resolution presented to us today without hearing the president. Yes we know that it is in Boris Nikolayevich's tradition to say one thing today and go back on his word tomorrow. But let him speak, and let the whole country hear it.

As far as the draft resolution that has been proposed is concerned, the faction is empowered to announce that it envisages that the president goes and the Supreme Soviet goes, but it is not clear who remains. Surely not the same presidential entourage which was called a collective Grigoriy Rasputin here yesterday? [Applause] Our faction believes, and I am empowered to announce, that the document which has been proposed is a compact between nomenklaturas: the Supreme Soviet nomenklatura and the Presidential entourage nomenklatura. [applause]

Look, in the attached draft resolution which has been resoundingly named On overcoming the crisis of power and maintaining the constitutional structure of the Russian Federation, there are absolutely no guarantees of the unity of Russia, there is absolutely no way out of the crisis. There is only a doling out of property. Point seven of the attached resolution is simply insulting to the Corps of Deputies. It is an attempt to give a bribe. [prolonged applause] And where is the guarantee that the president, who has not been working for three days without sleep, will not offer us a new surprise? [applause] And so, the faction's proposal. The faction proposes that today, immediately and voluntarily, there should be a joint resignation by the president and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. [Applause, prolonged cheers] If this does not happen, we propose that we work on to the resolution on the referendum. [applause]

Rodina Faction's Kazakov

LD2803114093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0721 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Speech by Deputy Kazakov, member of the Rodina faction, to the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies at the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed People's Deputies! Esteemed Presidium! Esteemed President! If we look history in the face, we should admit that, for the third congress running, deputies' intentions to evade a liquidation tendency are constantly rejected by some mysterious force, and new tricks are being imposed. The same has happened today.

We tried yesterday to end the congress, and we were inclined to do this. A number of documents and resolutions were adopted, but the congress did not finish. Today, the first thing in the morning, we received a new proposal. We were given a document prepared by a grouping and not by a working body of the congress.

The faction has come to the conclusion that the proposed document is outside the Constitution because it goes beyond the Constitution's framework in many cases, by the election of a new parliament, by depriving all deputies' authorities. [passage omitted]

Second. Neither yesterday nor today, did the president say unambiguously that there would be no referendum and that the decree would be withdrawn. Instead, there are attempts to buy the Congress. [passage omitted]

Third. Point 7, which insults the deputies, has already been mentioned here. We would like to know who has created this point and who constantly tries to humiliate the congress and the deputies in the eyes of their voters.

The deputies do not need this. No such point on preserving privileges should be in the adopted resolution. [applause] [passage omitted]

The last thing I wanted to mention is that there is a Constitution, and there is a law on the president. They state: The president's resignation or releasing him from his post can be considered if the president cannot fulfill his functions, and the vice president then takes office. Yesterday, we observed that moments are possible when the president is unable to govern the country.

Democratic Party's Travkin

LD2803093693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0730 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Speech by Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, to the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies! It seems to me that we are now facing the most important decision of all the congresses that have taken place. The decision does not concern the hall. In the extreme situation in which the country now finds itself, we will indeed either lose our footing and fall, or continue to move forward. We do not have the right to drive one another into a corner, to drive one authority against another. I understand that many still think that we will change everything after a little bit more. We will not change anything; we will only exacerbate the situation. We cannot pin one another against the wall.

I would grab at any straw that might allow us to preserve what little stability there is in society. I think we should stop panicking. This crisis is not inescapable in the end.

Manufacturing is working: worse than before, but it is working. We do not yet have (?total) unemployment. Agriculture is working, and we are still able to climb out of this hole. We can only climb out together, however; we cannot exacerbate the situation.

Perhaps the congress's only task is to gain the trust of the government in its independence. Everything is going to depend on this government. I would agree with the resolution. I would not inflate the significance of the articles. One thing should certainly be discarded, and that is the bribe to deputies. The period of powers should end with the new elections.

Let us not aggravate the situation. We must not think that applause in this hall represents the applause of the whole country. People are waiting for peace, and we must not alter that state of mind.

Rossiya Faction's Baburin

LD2803091993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0732 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Remarks by Sergey Baburin, member of the Rossiya faction of congress deputies, to the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] Unfortunately, I am forced to begin my speech by stating that this is a breach of the regulations and expressing sympathy with esteemed Nikolay Ilyich Travkin. I have still not heard whether or not their party, in particular, regrets that they proposed Boris Nikolayevich's candidacy for president. Do they accept responsibility for what their candidate is doing at the head of the Russian Federation? Or are they accustomed to criticizing him as quietly as possible? [passage omitted]

I want to say that the Rossiya faction believes that stabilization of the situation in the country, normalization of socioeconomic relations and, first of all, the continuation of deep, real economic reforms, are only possible after the resignation of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. [applause] [passage omitted]

I introduce a proposal in the name of the Rossiya faction and support what has already been said here. We propose that the Congress adopt a decision to emphasize the recommendation read out by the editorial commission yesterday on the voluntary resignation of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and of the president of the Russian Federation. If this does not meet with their goodwill, voting by the electorate must be called, so that everyone can express his will freely and without any blackmail from the executive structures. [passage omitted]

We can send the president into retirement. We may not receive the required two-thirds of the votes, but we must examine this question. This is our constitutional duty. Without doing this, we do not have the right to go home. Thank you.

Khasbulatov Notes Attempt To Remove Him From Office

LD2803091093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0827 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Statement by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies, excuse me but I cannot help taking the floor in order to stop this flow of insults levelled at me. I would like to tell you that when the first draft decision prepared by the editorial commission headed by [Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman] Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov—the first draft—I told Nikolay Timofeyevich the following: In my view, the Congress convened to discuss the issue related to the

attempted coup d'etat but it will end up by removing the chairman of the Supreme Soviet from office.

Congress Votes To Consider Yeltsin, Khasbulatov Removal

LD2803095893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0945 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—The 9th Congress by a majority of votes decided to consider the question of removing Boris Yeltsin from office.

The decision was voted for by 594 deputies, 287 opposed it and 24 abstained.

The Congress also decided to consider the question of relieving Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov of his duties.

This was voted for by 614 deputies, 253 opposed the decision and 41 abstained.

Single Ballot for Vote

LD2803123193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1218 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Participants in the 9th Congress of the People's Deputies of the Russian Federation have endorsed a specimen of secret-ballot voting paper which includes two questions—about impeachment of President Boris Yeltsin and the recall of Russian Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov.

The congress also confirmed Ravkat Chebotarevskiy as chairman of a 21-member vote-counting commission of the congress. Chebotarevskiy told the congress that a qualified number of votes (689) must be polled to adopt a decision on impeachment of the president and a simple majority (517 votes) is needed for the recall of the parliament chief.

A number of deputies insisted that voting on Boris Yeltsin and Ruslan Khasbulatov be carried out in two ballot papers. However, a majority of deputies agreed with the vote-counting commission's proposal that the two names be entered in one voting paper.

Congress Rejects Early Election Draft

OW2803103893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1015 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Sunday [28 March] the congress of people's deputies rejected the draft resolution on overcoming the power crisis and maintaining the constitutional system of the Russian Federation submitted jointly by the president, the parliament speaker and the council of ministers.

The document provided for holding on November 21 early elections to the two-house legislature. Early presidential elections were to be held the same day.

Only 130 deputies voted for the draft. 687 voted against it, and 31 abstained.

Opposition Insists on April Referendum

OW2803105093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1005 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president, the parliament speaker and the government have proposed a draft resolution on ways of overcoming the crisis of authority and preserving the constitutional system.

This document schedules early parliamentary and presidential elections for November 21.

Pending the adoption of a new constitution, the powers of the new parliament shall be determined in accordance with the current constitution which defines the responsibilities of the congress and parliament.

Newly-elected president and parliament shall assume their duties on February 15, 1994. Not later than June 15, 1993 the laws on presidential and parliamentary elections, and on political parties and other public organizations shall be adopted.

After February 15, 1994, the current deputies and president shall retain their present-day social guarantees for the period up to March 1995 (the deputies) and July 10, 1996 (the president).

In line with the resolutions of the 8th congress of people's deputies, a package of draft laws shall be passed on the implementation of the Federation Treaty, including a document envisaging the establishment of a consultative conference (the Council of the Federation), representing the Russian Federation's state entities, to coordinate the work of the authoritative bodies of Russia's constituent entities.

The draft resolution also says that this resolution may not be changed or annulled without Constitutional Court's approval.

It suggests that the Constitutional Court's ruling on the president's appeal to the people on March 20 should be taken into consideration and says that "violations of the constitution and of the Russian laws by the president are inadmissible".

The Russian Unity radical opposition alliance still insists on the April referendum. During a conference, members of this alliance noted that the president's decision not to hold a referendum and poll on April 25 is

indicative of panic in his team and of his own indecision. The Russian Unity believes that the referendum will undoubtedly lead to the president's defeat. At the end of April it will become clear that the president will have to resign, say members of this opposition alliance. They also believe that support for the idea of early elections next November would "prolong the agony by almost six months".

Unity Bloc To Vote for Khasbulatov, Against Yeltsin

LD2803112193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1108 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—The Russian Unity, the largest parliamentary bloc uniting approximately 350 deputies, decided to vote for Ruslan Khasbulatov and against Boris Yeltsin. This became known when the bloc's Agrarian Union, Civil Society, the Communists of Russia, Otchizna (Fatherland) and Rodina (Motherland) factions conferred.

The bloc has taken up an active anti-presidential position which has been repeatedly demonstrated at the current attitude. At the same time many members of the bloc have a dual attitude towards parliament chief Ruslan Khasbulatov.

On Sunday [28 March], when discussing voting tactics, deputies Sergey Baburin, Boris Tarasov, Iona Andronov and others emphasised that the situation that had taken shape at the congress dictated the need to "keep" Khasbulatov as the parliament speaker.

As far as Boris Yeltsin is concerned, they were exceptionally unanimous and decided to vote for impeaching the president.

But would they poll enough votes for that? It must be recalled that 689 votes are needed for an impeachment decision to become valid.

Adviser Says Yeltsin Prepared To Sacrifice 'Anything'

LD2803135593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1130 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar—The removal of Boris Yeltsin from office would be a most serious mistake in the present situation, in the opinion of Mikhail Maley, the Russian Federation president's adviser. In a talk with journalists a few hours before the Congress deputies resolve this issue by secret ballot, he said the president has made many mistakes but has admitted them and now is "sincerely ready to sacrifice anything for Russia's sake, including himself."

Mikhail Maley thinks that for a long time Yeltsin has been doing other people's work and agreed to a compromise when it was too late because he followed other people's decisions. "Some of those people are still holding their posts, others went abroad to enjoy well-paid jobs, and the president has to pay for them", the adviser said.

"Yesterday I heard the Russian president sincerely express his own opinion for the first time in the recent period," Mikhail Maley said. "I would like Boris Yeltsin to remain president. I would like him to take a couple of steps back from all sorts of government, party, and other duties, and take a stance specific to a Russian president." Boris Yeltsin is capable of restoring the trust people have in him, all the more so because there is no other figure in the country "with the expertise and international support which Yeltsin has," the president's adviser believes.

Mikhail Maley, who is involved in conversion of the country's military-industrial complex, is convinced that most people in this complex support the president. According to him, no more than 30 percent of managers can be in favor of changing policy. "The military-industrial complex is the president's firm and reliable mainstay, and it is a pity that he has never been able to believe this," Mikhail Maley said.

Replying to a question about how the president's side can influence the results of the forthcoming vote, the president's adviser said: "What influence can you be talking about when they are printing ballot papers already? Let us pray to God."

[illegible]cratic Russia Deputy Unhappy Over Ballot [illegible]n

LD[illegible]03162993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 28 March carries a three-minute report by correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy on the latest proceedings at the Congress of People's Deputies, including the proposal to the congress by Chairman of the Tellers' Commission Chebotarevskiy to approve the type of ballot paper. One ballot paper is to includes both issues: the vote on dismissing President Yeltsin, and the vote on removing Khasbulatov from his post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet. This issue has given rise to perplexity in the congress even though a majority voted in favor of approving such a ballot paper.

Interviewed by Ruvinskiy after this vote, People's Deputy Stanislav Pavlovich Shustov says: "You know, unfortunately, yet again, I have turned out to be right. I told my Democratic Russia friends that these so-called deputies will stop at nothing in order to be able to distort the results of the vote. You know, when such political games start, the Democrats take the decision, first to take roll-call votes to take the ballot papers outside the hall so as to prove to their voters that they have stood staunchly behind the president. They should be prevented from

being able to take the ballot papers outside; after all, if these ballot papers are taken away, then it is possible to distort the results."

After noting the decision made by the congress on this issue, Shustov says: "I think that in this way attempts are being made to save Khasbulatov to a certain extent from his attackers, even though what we had at the congress today is a total evasion. You, my dear voters and listeners, will see this when the results of the vote are read out. After all, virtually every faction —and this is half of the congress—has stated that Khasbulatov must resign at once. But this is no more than, so to speak, a bait to lead people on," he concludes.

Russian Unity Supports Khasbulatov

OW2803135193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1309 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the 9th Congress of People's Deputies, the opposition "Russian Unity" bloc has decided to support the Supreme Soviet chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov in a vote on his resignation.

The decision has been adopted overwhelmingly at a meeting held by the alliance in an interval between congressional sessions.

Before the interval, deputies decided to include in the forum's agenda a point on Presidential impeachment in accordance with article 121-10 of the constitution and a point on the Parliamentary speaker's resignation. 594 deputies voted for including the point on Presidential impeachment into the agenda, 287 voted against, and 41 abstained from voting.

In a vote on the question of the speaker's resignation, 614 deputies voted "for" , 253 against, 41 abstained from voting.

The total number of deputies - 1033.

It was also decided to vote on both issues by a secret ballot rather than by the computer system.

Most speakers at the "Russian Unity" conference noted that two-thirds of the votes were essential to impeach the president, and such a chance is unlikely. At the same time, more than 50 per cent of the votes would be enough for Ruslan Khasbulatov's resignation.

Members of the bloc said that although Khasbulatov represented "the humiliated Chechen peoples, and although he had been manuevering, still he had never betrayed the interests of Russia". They also declared that the deputies had, in fact, "fallen into a trap", and as a result of secret balloting, the President might stay, and instead of the Parliamentary leader "who had been beyond the radical democrats's control", there would appear a Parliamentary chairman - "a firm supporter of the President".

"The Russian Unity" decided to press for incorporating the points on Presidential impeachment and resignation of the speaker in one ballot-paper, "so that the democrats would get away with ballot-papers, demanding the resignation of the president".

Deputies View Chances of Removing Khasbulatov

LD2803154193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1524 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, March 28 TASS—During a break between meetings, deputies of the Russian congress had conversations with journalists. Doubting the possibility of Yeltsin's impeachment, they made various forecasts about the outcome of the voting to sack Khasbulatov.

Sergey Konovalov, chairman of the parliamentary subcommittee on economic problems, believes Yuriy Voronin, deputy speaker, stands the biggest chances to become speaker. Konovalov believes that the majority of deputies would most probably refuse the idea of preterm elections and will favour a referendum to be held before the elections.

Sergeiy Sheboldayev said that if the question of confidence in the parliamentary speaker is raised at the congress, Khasbulatov will still not be sacked. "Yeltsin and Khasbulatov embody a certain political balance, and deputies will hardly decide to sack the speaker, particularly if the voting is by secret ballot," he said.

Deputies Discuss Congress' Possible Resolution

OW2803165693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] For the 9th congress the only way out of the crisis can be a resolution providing for a referendum on confidence in the president and in the congress, Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the parliamentary committee on defence and security, told IF [INTERFAX] on Sunday [28 March].

Stepashin believes that the government should be granted the powers to form a team, and the right of legislative initiative with a view to stabilizing the economic situation and saving the country's financial and crediting system. "The ruble might collapse within three weeks," Stepashin stressed.

Besides, he told IF that at present law and order in Moscow are ensured by the local police force. Nevertheless, he said, the 23rd brigade of the Dzerzhinsky division is in reserve to be used if disturbances begin.

Yuriy Gekht, coordinator of the Industrial Union faction, told IF that the draft resolution on urgent measures to preserve the constitutional system of the Russian

Federation should include the stipulation that the issue of the president's and the speaker's resignation must be decided by secret vote.

According to Gekht, after the president's latest statement at the congress it will be possible to collect the two-thirds of the vote required for his impeachment by secret vote. Only about 350 or 370 deputies will vote for Khasbulatov's resignation, since "at the moment the speaker serves as a shield in combating the president's team", said Gekht.

Congress Participants Forecast Outcome of Impeachment Vote

OW2803175193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1648 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the Parliamentary "Industrial Union", faction Yuriy Gecht believes that Ruslan Khasbulatov will receive much support in voting on his resignation. Even those who insisted on including the resignation issue in the agenda will vote for Khasbulatov, Mr. Gecht said in an interview with Interfax. Otherwise, in his view, "they will strongly weaken the Supreme Soviet's position and will find themselves face to face with the President on their own".

One of the leaders of the Parliamentary faction "Radical Democrats" Gleb Yakunin has suggested that on the impeachment issue, most deputies will vote "against". In his opinion, Khasbulatov will also retain his post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet since many opponents of the Russian president regard Khasbulatov as the only one who can really oppose Boris Yeltsin.

The vice-chairman of the Russian communist party Valentin Kuptsov also feels that voting on the impeachment of the President and on the resignation of the Supreme Soviet chairman will be inconclusive.

In the opinion of the social security minister Ms. Ella Pamfilova, the Congress "will end without result". "I think the confrontation of powers will continue since there won't be enough votes to impeach the President, she said in an interview with Interfax. Khasbulatov will keep his post, too". [quotation marks as received]

Yeltsin, Khasbulatov Survive Vote; Results Announced

LD2803200693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1821 GMT 28 Mar 93

["Protocol No. 3 from the Tellers Commission of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation on the results of a secret ballot on impeaching the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, of 28 March 1993," and "Protocol No. 4 from the Tellers Commission of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation on the results of a secret ballot on recalling the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, of 28 March 1993"—read by Teller Commission Chairman Chebotarevskiy at the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] We present for your approval Protocol No. 3 from the Tellers Commission of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation on the results of a secret ballot on impeaching the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, of 28 March 1993.

In accordance with Point 13, Part 2, Article 104, as well as Article 121-10 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Tellers Commission counted the votes cast in the ballot on impeaching Russian Federation President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and established the following:

The candidature of the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, was entered on the ballot paper for the secret ballot on impeaching the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. The overall number of people's deputies of the Russian Federation is 1,033. The number of people's deputies of the Russian Federation who received ballot papers was 924. Upon unsealing ballot boxes, 909 ballot papers were found, 24 of them invalid. The votes were cast as follows: 617 for impeachment, 268 against impeachment. Therefore, less than a two-thirds majority of the overall number of people's deputies of the Russian Federation voted to impeach Russian Federation President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. He is therefore not considered to have been impeached as president of the Russian Federation.

Signed by the chairman, secretary, and members of the Tellers Commission. I ask you to approve this. [video shows that Protocol No. 3 was approved with 768 deputies voting for, 15 voting against, and 15 abstaining]

We present for your approval Protocol No. 4 from the Tellers Commission of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation on the results of a secret ballot on recalling the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, of 28 March 1993.

In accordance with Article 115 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Tellers Commission counted the votes cast in the ballot on recalling the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, and established the following:

The candidature of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation was entered on the ballot paper for the secret ballot on recalling the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, Khasbulatov. The overall number of people's deputies of the Russian Federation is 1,033. The number of people's deputies of the Russian Federation who received ballot

papers was 924. Upon unsealing ballot boxes, 909 ballot papers were found, 12 of them invalid. The votes were cast as follows: 339 for recalling, 558 against recalling.

Therefore, less than one-half of the people's deputies of the Russian Federation voted for recalling the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. He is therefore not considered to have been recalled from the office of chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

Signed by the chairman, secretary, and members of the Tellers Commission. I ask you to approve this. [video shows that Protocol No. 4 was approved with 779 deputies voting for, 11 voting against, and sevenabstaining]

Khasbulatov Thanks Congress

LD2803190993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1827 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov at at the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies, frankly speaking I am very surprised by these [voting] results. Over the three years that I, as first deputy and later as chairman of the Supreme Soviet, have been trying to cope with this work which is not very easy, I thought that many more deputies probably had reasons to be unhappy about me. But it has turned out that only 340 are unhappy. So thank you very much for showing your trust once again.

Of course we have to think very seriously—and me too—about these results. Let us be frank, these voting results are of course incompatible. The Supreme Soviet and the congress, on the whole, have a right to replace their chairman of the Supreme Soviet at their initiative and practically at any time, and this should not be seen as a drama or tragedy. This is the status of the supreme representative body, especially as there are a sufficient number of worthy people among us.

It is another thing when an enormous number of deputies, in strict accordance with the constitution, on the basis of a conclusion made by the Constitutional Court have nearly—I repeat, on the basis of the constitution, in compliance with all procedural norms—have very nearly removed the president. We all have to ponder upon this signal in a very serious way. Consequently, it is, of course, a question of a very serious national problem from which we cannot distance ourselves, and one will have to think once again; and the decisions that we are to adopt tomorrow and in our future activity must be such as to turn the actual development of the socioeconomic situation, first of all, in such a way that while decisive reformist actions are being implemented, our people should feel real relief in their daily lives. It appears that this is the root of all the problems and the root of the tragedy which is obvious here, it is here and we are trying to resolve it.

Thank you for your trust once again, esteemed people's deputies. [applause]

Khasbulatov Interviewed on Outcome

OW2903083593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0807 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov believes Sunday's [28 March] voting at the Congress of People' Deputies on the motion for his and President Boris Yeltsin's dismissal "has not completely ended the crisis."

"The crisis is so deep that it can hardly be overcome as quickly as that," he told Interfax in an exclusive interview following the Sunday sessions of the congress.

One had to bear in mind, Khasbulatov continued, that "the congress didn't meet to deal with some routine matter. It met because of an attempt at a coup d'etat." "That is not our invention, it was something the Constitutional Court established," he added.

He described the last few days as "difficult and dramatic." "The congress and the events of these last few days have been a clear reflection of the socio-economic and political situation in the country," he said.

Remarking that he had expected far more deputies to oppose him, Khasbulatov said, "The congress has shown yet again that the motives behind the current confrontation between the president and the legislative branch are not personal."

"The deputies who voted against me are actually indignant at what they see as my excessive compliance with the president," he said.

"The results of the voting, and even the nature of the motion itself, make it clear that I'm not behind any of the conflicts between the president and the Supreme Soviet. The reasons for the tension are objective rather than personal," he repeated.

Mentioning that on Monday the congress would return to discussions on two draft resolutions, that on a referendum and that on new presidential and parliamentary elections, Khasbulatov said he could not make any forecasts concerning the results of the debates.

"This is a difficult congress, although it couldn't have been otherwise," he said.

Kostikov Statement

LD2903091193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] We have just received a statement by Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary of the Russian Federation, which says this inter alia: Having been

defeated in its disgraceful intention to deprive the popularly elected president of power, using a false and anti-constitutional procedure, the Congress of People's Deputies has failed to learn any lessons from its political fiasco and is continuing to expand the sphere of its anti-constitutional actions. It is fully ignoring public opinion and the will of the people demonstrated in a wave of support for the legally elected president which has rolled across the country and in the mass protests against the destructive activity of the Congress. With the connivance of the Constitutional Court the congress is continuing to destroy the country's constitutional space weakened by the decisions taken previously by the Congress and the Supreme Soviet. The Congress is deliberately pushing the president and the population of the country toward civil protest. Taking advantage of the president's wish to seek compromise solutions, the Congress is provoking Russian citizens to civil confrontation. The Congress has violated the norms of political decency and human morality by constantly insulting the president, the ministers, the government, and Russian citizens.

By taking anti-constitutional actions and endlessly breaching the rules the Congress has placed itself above and outside the law and exceeded the limits of democratic and Russian civilization. Having embarked on this dangerous path of endless violations of the Constitution, the Congress and its obviously covert leadership must shoulder the whole responsibility for their provocative activity and for the destruction of civil peace in Russia.

Ministers, Deputies Comment

OW2903085493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0841 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko believes the failure of the Congress of People's Deputies to discharge President Boris Yeltsin will have a positive effect on the outcome of the April 25 referendum. He told Interfax late on Sunday [28 March] night that, prior to the voting on the discharge motion at the congress, the government presidium had held an urgent meeting, expressing its unanimous support for Yeltsin. "None of us deemed it possible to leave the president and work with any other leader. We want to carry through together with Boris Yeltsin the task we have set ourselves," he said.

Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray called the outcome of the voting a "serious victory for the president." He thinks, however, that there is bound to be another attempt to dismiss Yeltsin, which, in his opinion, is unlikely to be made before the Tenth Congress but hardly later than that too.

Sergey Baburin, one of the leaders of the Russian Unity opposition parliamentary bloc, said the results of the voting showed that "the Constitution is more important for the deputies than personal sympathies and antipathies." Baburin said he was glad Yeltsin had not been dismissed but was dissatisfied with the fact that Khasbulatov remained in office.

Lev Ponomarev from the Radical Democrats parliamentary group said he saw "how dangerous the congress is. It can meet again in two weeks' time and impeach the president." He is sure the confrontation between the two branches of power will now be further exacerbated.

Sergey Kovalev from the bloc of democratic parliamentary groups described the voting as a "new fraud on the part of the communists," who verbally demanded that Ruslan Khasbulatov be discharged but voted against his dismissal. He said it could not be ruled out that the congress would make another attempt to remove the president. Kovalev hopes, however, that no more congresses will be held before the April 25 referendum.

Congress Debates Resolution on Media Freedom

Poptsov Resignation Called For

LD2803090793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0653 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov from the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies]

[Text] Media Committee Chairman Vladimir Lisin declined to comment on the draft resolution introduced at the congress, but did say that the draft resolution on freedom of speech on television contains a point on the resignation of Oleg Poptsov, chairman of the All-Russian Radio and Television Company. In Lisin's view, however, the congress is unlikely to approve this solution, because the Russian channel gives more airtime to militant political leaders and personalities.

Fedotov Speech

LD2803140493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1157 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Speech by Mikhail Fedotov, press and public information minister, to the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies at the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Presidium! Esteemed Congress of People's Deputies! First of all, let me thank you for the opportunity to express the president's position on this bill, on this draft resolution. The president of the Russian Federation asked me to draw your attention to the fact that the draft that has been submitted has the following shortcomings. First, speaking about political flaws, last night we all put our clocks one hour forward. By adopting this decision we will put the clock of glasnost and freedom of speech 10 years back.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that, in essence, a giant monopoly is being created—instead of the semi-monopoly that exists today when television belongs to different branches of power—in which there is

the Russian television and radio company founded by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and whose leader was appointed by the presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. At the same time, there is the Ostankino television and radio company founded by the Russian Federation Government as the legal successor of the USSR Gosteleradio, as part of the system of bodies of state administration.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that, when adopting this decision, we will see that its individual clauses violate the Russian Federation law on the media, something which is at variance with Article 4 of the Constitution because it is a question of a congress decision, not a law.

We are dealing with an administrative document, not a legislative one. It is precisely in connection with this that a congress decision cannot be at variance with the laws adopted either by the congress itself or the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. Esteemed Mikhail Alekseyevich Mityukov, chairman of the Committee for Legislation, draws attention to this fact in his amendments and addenda to the draft.

I would like the congress to consider the fact that, by adopting this decision, we will thereby violate the decision of the preceding Eighth Congress, clause one of which says that all the acts redistributing powers between the bodies of legislative and executive authorities should be deemed invalid. The congress thereby displays inconsistency in its own actions, and it may happen that the decision adopted today will be immediately canceled by the decision adopted at the previous congress.

One more thing to which I would like to draw your attention. I mentioned a monopoly that is being set up. It is being set up on the basis of point 2 of the draft resolution, which says that the executive power bodies and their officials cannot be founders of state television and radio broadcasting companies and news services. Their authorities as founders are handed over to appropriate representative power bodies and local governments.

What will this lead to? It will lead to the following. For example, in the city of Saratov, in Saratov Oblast, there is the Saratov Oblast Television and Radio Company. As of today, the administration of Saratov Oblast and the Press Ministry of the Russian Federation, as the administrative body, are its co-founders. If the resolution is adopted, including point 2, and the rights of the founders are to be handed over to appropriate representative power bodies, the Saratov Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation will be the founders of the Saratov TV and Radio Company. Thus, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation will become the sole master of all television and radio companies in the Russian Federation, from Kaliningrad to the Kurils.

Even in our practices in the recent past, nothing of this kind ever happened. I would also like to draw your attention to the fact that there are international obligations of the Russian Federation—in particular, those connected with the declaration of the main principles of media contribution. These include the UNESCO Resolution No. 4-9 dated 28 November 1978, Resolution No. 59-1 of the UN General Assembly of 1946, the Resolution No. 25/S-104 of the UNESCO General Conference dated 15 November 1989 and, finally, the Windhoek Declaration on developing the independent and pluralistic press dated 3 May 1991.

All these and many other international documents emphasize that parliaments should ensure that there is an independent, pluralistic press. This applies not only to printed media but to audio-visual media as well. I also ask you to let me speak with regard to each individual amendment when you discuss them and put them to the vote. Thank you.

Alternative Resolution Presented

OW2803093793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1616 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Representatives of the president's supporters presented to the 9th Congress of People's Deputies their alternative resolution on the operation of federal and territorial radio and television broadcasting companies. The draft provides for the state agencies' and other officials' non-interference in their activities.

The president's supporters' draft resolution on the measures insuring freedom of expression at the state-owned radio and television broadcasting companies has been developed as an alternative to the draft prepared by the Congress' Editorial Commission.

Their draft resolution envisages, in particular, that executive agencies or officials, including the Federal Information Center, should not interfere in the operation of Russia's radio and television broadcasting companies.

The draft developed by the president's supporters provides that no state agencies or their officials would be authorized to institute television or radio programs or set up budgetary television and radio broadcasting companies. The draft proposes that all the operating federal television and radio broadcasting companies be owned by the staff operating them, with the existing system of funding and logistics preserved. The statutes of the federal television and radio broadcasting companies, the draft resolution suggests, should be approved and their heads appointed by the president in coordination with the parliament.

The draft envisages that all of Russia's political parties and movements be provided equal opportunities to present their platforms through them.

The draft assigned the Supreme Soviet to work out and adopt a laws on the principles of state television and radio broadcasting, social and private radio and television broadcasting, as well as on radio and television broadcasting licensing.

Debates on the issue of the freedom of expression through the medium of national radio and television is scheduled for the Congress' Saturday evening session.

Executive 'Interference' Banned

LD2803142493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1420 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—The Russian Congress of People's Deputies on Sunday passed the final vote on the bill envisaging the ban on the interference of the executive authorities in the activity of state television and radio broadcasting companies and establishing the control of the representative authorities over them.

As many as 537 deputies voted for the bill, 263 voted against and 54 abstained.

Resolution Detailed

LD2803170493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1550 GMT 28 Mar 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 28 March—The Congress of Russian People's Deputies adopted today a resolution "On measures to ensure freedom of speech on state radio and television and in information services," in which it spoke against "political censorship of state radio and television." Deputies believe that this "has acquired a new, specific character, expressed in an uneven allocation of air-time to representatives of various political views."

The congress has decided that state radio and television companies must act in strict accordance with the adopted resolution and the law of the Russian Federation "On Mass Media," and that the activity of management bodies not stipulated by law and their financing should be stopped. It was decided to abolish the Russian Federal Information Center and the "Rossiya" Federal Radio and Television Service by repealing the relevant presidential decrees.

The resolution states that bodies of executive power and their officials cannot be founders of state radio and television companies and information services, and that their plenipotentiary powers are to be transferred to representative bodies of power and local self-governments.

The Supreme Soviet is to study within one month the draft law on the management of radio and television broadcasting.

It was deemed necessary that representative bodies of power should set up observers councils to ensure freedom of speech on state radio and television broadcasting. Their main tasks will be "to ensure objective coverage on state radio and television broadcasting of socio-political problems and events, to give various political and other social associations an equal opportunity to express their point of view on economic, social, and political processes in Russia, and to implement the necessary measures for preventing political monopolization of state radio and television broadcasting."

It was established that the appointment and dismissal of heads of state radio and television companies of federal importance must be carried out by a federal observers council, whose task is to ensure freedom of speech on state radio and television broadcasting, with the agreement of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

The Ministry of Press and Information of the Russian Federation has been instructed to continue financing state radio and television companies as usual.

The ministry has been instructed to ensure strict compliance with the legislature in the activity of radio and television companies and other mass media.

Further on Vote

OW2803171793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1646 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Congress of People's Deputies on Sunday [28 March] passed a ruling, which declares that executive power bodies and their officials cannot be founders of state-run TV and radio companies and information services. According to the document, their functions as founders are taken over by appropriate representative bodies of power and local self-governing structures.

The Congress also repealed the Russian President's decrees "On the federal tv and radio service "Russia", and "On the federal information centre" and abolished both of them. [quotation marks as received]

Deputies instructed representative bodies of power to set up councils to monitor compliance with the freedom of speech on state radio and television. The main tasks of councils, as the ruling says, is to guarantee on state television and radio the unbiased coverage of social and political issues and events, "equally enable various political and public forces to state their views", and "do what is necessary to exclude the political monoplization of state television and radio".

The leaders of federal TV and radio companies are to be appointed by a federal council on consent from Parliament.

Councils are formed by the method of delegating representatives along parity lines from all the registered factions by appropriate representative bodies of power.

The press and information minister Mikhail Fedotov, representing the President at the Congress, focussed on a number of flaws in the documents. In his words, by adopting this decision deputies "will turn the clock in the field of openness and the freedom of speech 10 years back".

537 deputies voted for the decree, 263 - against, and 54 abstained from voting.

Of the 8 amendments put forward by the Presidents, 4 were turned down, 3 accepted, and 1 was partially accepted.

A group of deputies declared intention to appeal to the Constitutional Court immediately to check compliance of the document with the constitution.

Fedotov Criticism

LD2803165593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1636 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Hardly the Russian Congress of People's Deputies passed on Sunday [28 March] the decree "On Measures to Ensure the Freedom of Speech at State Television and in News Organisations" than a group of deputies has announced that it is drafting a request to the Russian Constitutional Court to verify if the document is constitutional. The decree envisages control over TV by representative authorities.

Since the Congress on Saturday did not discuss the alternative draft decree of the presidential side, Mikhail Fedotov, Russian minister of the press and information, at the meeting on Sunday stated on the president's instruction his view of the draft discussed.

Fedotov said that if the decree in its separate clauses is adopted, it will run counter to the law on the mass media and the constitution.

He pointed out clause two of the decree which stipulates that executive bodies and their officials cannot be founders of state television and radio broadcasting companies and news organisations, and that their powers as founders are passed on to representative authorities.

"By adopting this decree we will put the clock back ten years as regards openness and the freedom of speech", the minister said. Essentially, this means forming a mammoth monopoly in place of the present half - monopoly, when TV belongs to different branches of power, when there exists the Russian Television and Radio Broadcasting Company instituted by the Russian Supreme Soviet and Ostankino Television and Radio Broadcasting Company founded by the government", the minister said.

Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Legislation, who spoke during the debate on the draft, admitted that the text, including clause two, does not go together with the law on the mass media.

He said that a legislative examination should have been made before referring the draft decree to the Congress.

Meanwhile, the adopted decree says that until the law on organising television and radio broadcasting is adopted, state TV and radio broadcasting companies will work strictly in accordance with this decree and the law on the mass media. The Congress has decided to dissolve the Russian Federal Information Centre and the federal television and radio broadcasting services Russia formed under the presidential decrees.

A number of deputies declared against the forming of observation councils by representative bodies at state television and radio broadcasting services, regarding this as the danger of the imposition of censorship by the branches of power.

However, people's deputies, apparently too concentrated on the impending secret ballot about the president's impeachment and sacking of the speaker, rejected all the amendments without debating. And there were many amendments that could have imparted to the decree a more balanced nature from the political and legal viewpoints.

Decision To Be Appealed

OW2803171993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1646 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The ruling of the Congress of People's Deputies "On measures to ensure the freedom of speech on state television and radio and in information services" will be appealed against in the Constitutional Court on Monday [29 March], the press and information minister Mikhail Fedotov has told Interfax. Mr. Fedotov reported that people's deputies would file a request to the court to check the legitimacy of the document.

The Congress abolished the Presidential decree on the creation of a federal information centre, but it has not cancelled other Presidential decrees, including that instructing the formation of such a centre, and this means that the instruction is in effect. I see no reason why the centre should cease to exist - Fedotov said.

The head of the Russian tv and radio broadcasting company Oleg Poptsov has said to Interfax that by its decision the Congress is, in fact, trying to dictate its policy to journalists as has been done throughout the last 70 years or so. "Now we have returned to what should not be allowed to occur", Poptsov stressed.

Filatov Foresees 'Further Confrontation'

LD2803172993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1714 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—The question of television was submitted to the Congress as clearly a confrontational question, Sergey Filatov, chief of the presidential administration, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS on Sunday [28 March]. Noting that the draft decree "On Measures to Ensure the Freedom of Speech at State Television and Radio Broadcasting and in News Organisations" has not included any of the amendments proposed by the president, Filatov noted that a number of provisions of the document adopted at the evening meeting of the Congress on Sunday run counter to law.

"The decree predetermines further confrontation between two branches of power, which is impermissible", he said. Much is being said at the Congress about the need to seek accord and to decide everything on a legal, constitutional basis, Filatov said. "But this is not shown by actions, and I am much concerned over the consequences of the Ninth Congress", Filatov said. He stressed that the decisions of the Congress "are prompting the president and the executive structures to some steps that may lead to a new spiral of confrontation". Filatov believes that in these circumstances it would, perhaps, indeed be the best to reelect both the head of state and people's deputies.

Commenting on the course of the Congress, Filatov said that in general there are many violations of rules at the Congress, and this can hardly be explained by negligence. Filatov believes that the supreme legislative body is being deliberately turned into a political assembly. "I have a sense that the supreme representative power prevails over reason and over laws", Filatov said. He said that the main legal agency of the president will have a great deal of work. It will be necessary to address messages on materials of the Congress to the Constitutional Court.

Proceedings on Third Day of Congress Summarized

LD2803204393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2018 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—The third day of the 9th Congress of People's Deputies will, apparently, go down in history as the decisive day of the Congress and for the political situation in the country. The voting on the president's impeachment has become the culmination of lengthy debates following the March 20 address to the people by the head of state. As many as 617 deputies voted for the impeachment, 268 voted against. 339 deputies voted for sacking the parliamentary speaker, 558 were against.

As many as 689 were needed to impeach the president. 517 votes were needed to sack the speaker.

Before the opening of the meeting, it became known that the president, the speaker and the premier have reached a compromise, agreeing not to hold a referendum and to call the election of deputies late in November 1993.

Speaker Khasbulatov confirmed this from the rostrum of the congress. He said the sides have been able to find the basis for a way out.

The new draft resolution "On Overcoming the Crisis of Power and Preserving the Constitutional System" was handed out to deputies. The draft recognised the need for early election of the president and deputies late in November. The document did not blame the president for addressing the people and for his decrees. It only registered the conclusion of the Constitutional Court.

Yeltsin told deputies he did not abrogate the March 20 decree which, specifically, envisaged the vote of confidence in the president. He noted, however, that if the draft resolution is passed, he will suspend the decree and will keep his word not to conduct the voting.

But the draft resolution was received with caution, while some groups clearly disapproved of it. Most of those who took the floor described it as unconstitutional and expressed perplexity at the fact that deputies were offered to vote on the draft that has not been adopted by the Editing Commission. The draft has not been supported by representatives of territorial delegations, either. Nikolay Travkin's call "not to drive each offer into corners" has been of no avail.

Alongside demands to impeach the president, there was sharp criticism of Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov for his part in "the complicity behind the backs of deputies". Many proposed that he be sacked. Deputy Oleg Rumyantsev said that deputies became unreasonable in their search of enemy. Deputy Aleksey Surkov from Democratic Russia turned to President Yeltsin urging him to address a rally to say that the Congress cannot be tolerated any longer.

After a debate of two hours, the Congress has rejected the total draft. Only 130 deputies voted for. 687 deputies voted against and there were 31 abstentions. Another draft, proposed by the Editing Commission on Saturday, has not been adopted either. The Congress seemed to be deadlocked. In this situation, there came a proposal to decide first of all on conceptual matters, from which the Congress should proceed in working out the basic document. Two additional questions were put on the agenda—on the president's impeachment (it had not been put on the agenda on Saturday as it has not received the required number of votes), and on the speaker's resignation.

Since preparation for voting by secret ballot in booths required much time, it was decided to take up the second item on the agenda after a break. Meanwhile Yeltsin, speaking at a rally of democratic forces near the Kremlin, said that he will not submit to the Congress, that he will submit only to the will of the people. The participants in the rally adopted a resolution to doubt the validity of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet if the president is impeached.

The debate on the decree "On Measures to Ensure the Freedom of Speech at State Television and Radio Broadcasting and News Organisations" had the tone of disapproval of the president. Not one of the president's amendments and the draft document has been passed. A document, which, in the opinion of some deputies, runs counter to the constitutional right of the freedom of speech has been produced as a result. A group of deputies decided to refer the adopted decree to the Constitutional Court to establish if it is within the constitution.

The Congress continues on Monday.

After the results of the voting were announced, Khasbulatov expressed gratitude to deputies for confidence in him.

At the same time, he noted that "a large number of deputies, strictly in accordance with the constitution and on the basis of the conclusion of the Constitutional Court, were near impeaching the president. This is a signal we should ponder seriously. It is a serious national problem which should not be overlooked."

The speaker said that in its future decisions the Congress "should foresee that the development of the sociopolitical situation could take such a turn that during decisive reforms people should feel that their life really became easier".

Pro-Yeltsin Demonstrators Gather at Triumphal Square

LD2803091793

[Editorial report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0710 GMT on 28 March carries a report by its correspondent Igor Ternyavskiy from the Triumphal Square, the former Mayakovskiy Square, where about 2,000 people have started a rally.

Ternyavskiy says the main protagonists are the Russian Social-Liberal party, democratic organizations from Zelenograd, Ukraine, and Tver, the Anti-Fascist Center, the Democratic Reform Party, and, of course, Moscow citizens who link their future with Boris Yeltsin.

The report says: "The Social Liberal Party has circulated a statement at the meeting saying something along the following lines: A communist coup has been carried out in the country. The Bolshevik structures of Soviet power, the like of which do not exist in the civilized world, are concentrating all powers in the hands of the Congress. The principle of division of powers has been breached. In this situation, it is clear the turn things will now take. The Russian Social Liberal Party believes there is a danger that the president will be stripped of his powers, and therefore the party calls upon all democrats to unite to bring the country out of this crisis."

Ternyavskiy says the demonstrators are carrying banners with such slogans as: "Our Proud Boris Will Not Yield to the Enemy;" "No Mercy for Khasbulatov;" "Shame to the Judases Baburin, Zorkin, and Rutskoy;" "Disband the Congress!" and "Communism is Genocide Plus the Soviets!"

Ternyavskiy says the rally participants are being asked to sign a petition in support of the nationwide referendum announced by the president, and to give every possible assistance to the democratic moves, by giving money, distributing leaflets, and so on. Gleb Yakunin, Galina Starovoytova, Selunin, Chernichenko and other well-known public figures are said to have already signed. The demonstrators are lining up on Tverskaya Street [former Gorkiy Street] and will soon set off for the Vasilyevskiy Slope [leading from Red Square to the Moskva River] outside the Kremlin. The rally there is due to end at 1400.

Ternyavskiy adds that the anti-Yeltsin National Salvation Front is mustering its supporters near the Khudozhestvennyy movie theater.

Militia Comments on Turnout

OW2803074493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0722 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the estimate of the Moscow Militia, by 10:30 [0630 GMT] March 28, the number of demonstrators, who had gathered in Moscow's Triumphal Square to support President Yeltsin, did not exceed 6,000. Alevtina Zhukovich, an activist of the manifestation, told Interfax that in Vasilyevskiy slope near the Kremlin Wall, where the meeting is to be held, the number of demonstrators would increase to 150,000. Among the demonstrators are representatives of the cities of Kaluga, Vladimir, Ryazan and Donetsk, and the Krasnodar territory.

The commander of a militia unit found it difficult to predict how many people would gather in Vasilyevskiy Slope. Most of the posters carried and slogans chanted convey one and the same idea: "Boris, we are with you!" Ataman of the Oka Cossacks, Vsevolod Epov, stated that the critical moment for the Cossacks' massive actions in support of the president had not come yet. He told Interfax that an even more critical situation might take shape after the referendum, when the communists realize that the state coup they had planned failed.

The demonstrators are given cards of participants in the all-Russia meeting on March 28, 1993, which express gratitude to them for coming. The card has a coupon

which is to be send to the Public Committee of Russian Reforms and which reads: "I am against the anti-democratic resolutions of the 8th congress of people's deputies. I support the idea of holding the president-proposed opinion poll. You may count on my assistance. State which help you need".

Rally Moves to Vasilyevskiy Slope

LD2803121593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0826 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar—After a 30-minute rally in Triumphal Square which was organized on the initiative of over 60 parties and movements with democratic orientation—a column of demonstrators proceeded towards Vasilyevskiy Slope, near Red Square. There, at the Kremlin walls, the public committee of democratic organizations is intending to hold a two-hour rally in support of the Russian president and the reform policy. The demonstrators are carrying banners saying, "Let us defend democracy!", the Russian tricolors, and portraits of Boris Yeltsin. According to the assessments by the militia, about 50,000 people took part in the rally in Triumphal Square, as had been envisaged in the rally organizers' application.

Yeltsin Addresses Rally

LD2803111393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1016 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Speech by President Boris Yeltsin at a rally outside the Kremlin in Moscow on 28 March—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Esteemed listeners, we go over to the Great Hall of the Kremlin and our correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy.

[Ruvinskiy] As we have already reported, the Congress has adjourned. On Vasilyevskiy Slope by the wall of the Kremlin, a 100,000-strong rally is currently in full cry. I mean in full cry; I can find no other word to describe it. The sound engineer has just returned from there. Boris Nikolayevich addressed the demonstrators. Listen to this recording:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] It has been a long time since I have felt the breath of 70,000 or 80,000 people. Okay then, 100,000. [shouts from the crowd] Moscow has finally awakened. There was a temporary calm. Now, Moscow and the people of Moscow have decided to get directly involved and raise their voice in defense of the first popularly elected president of Russia. [shouts from the crowd]

What can I say? This has been a difficult time, since 12 June of 1991. It has been difficult in all respects—difficult for you, difficult for the people of Russia, difficult for the president. But we have set out on an entirely different road. We have cast off the yoke of totalitarianism. We have cast off the yoke of communism. We have set ourselves on the road to a civilized country, a civilized democracy.

Therefore, of course, those on whose corns we have trodden are not happy. The National Democrats and others from the past, as they say, have, of course, used all their strength to destroy Yeltsin all the same—if not physically, then to replace him. [shouts of "Down with Them, and "It Won't Happen!"]

I remember that there used to be a phrase, not from a famous author, but by Varennikov from Matrosskaya Tishina who said the only one that Gorbachev could not sort out was Yeltsin. [laughter from crowd]

Now you have come here, at the right time, on the very day that the fate of the president, of yourselves, of Russia, and of the people of Russia is being decided. You know what our congress is. [shouts of "Down with Them!" from crowd, turning into a chant]

I was the first to say that, if Russian citizens have any doubts in the president, then only the people who elected the president can decide his fate. I raised the issue of a referendum on 25 April so that Russians can say: if they say yes, then I will work with even more fervor. If they say no, I will resign.

Despite many compromise proposals—maybe an excessive number of compromises—in the end we will not give up the referendum. I said this at the Congress. Then they proposed that today. Now, secret voting is taking place in booths on dismissing the first Russian president to be elected by the people.

Well? Who wants to take upon himself the responsibility of Russia boiling over? Of sowing unrest? It will be on their conscience. You understand that I am in such a position that I cannot say any more to you. All you have to do is just wait, probably two or three hours—two or three hours, to determine when fate is there. [opredelit, opredelitsya, kogda sudba tam]

I have to say, however, that the law has also been broken right here! The law has been broken right here. Because a special conclusion on the impeachment of the president, who has allegedly broken the law—and it all comes from the fact that I addressed the people on 20 March—that is what I am being condemned for.

It is not, I think, up to these 600 to decide the destiny of Russia. I shall not submit! I shall submit to the will of the people! [applause, shouts] [end recording]

Gaydar: Congress 'Dangererously Armed'

LD2803112293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1016 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Unidentified correspondent's report from rally at Mayakovskiy Square]

[Text] I now have a chance to let you hear Yegor Gaydar's speech. Thank you.

[Begin Gaydar recording] Dear friends, you all know that cowardice is a terrible vice. Armed cowardice is particularly dangerous. The majority of the Congress is dangerously armed. It is dangerously armed with the power we gave it due to our lack of understanding. Our own lack of organization and lack of cohesion is a dangerous arm. We all came here today to support the president, but I will nevertheless allow myself to disagree with him on one matter. Yesterday, he said that the time had come to concentrate on the economy and forget about political battles.

Dear friends, no. The time has not come to forget about political battles and concentrate on the economy. This could only be done if the opposing side sincerely wanted to set to rights our economic affairs, but this is not the case. I can assure you that the majority of the Congress has done and will continue to do everything it can to stop Russia's movement ahead to a civilized economy and to prolong the situation of chaos, stuck as we are between the market and the country's traditional command economy, which is what they need above all else.

They need this because in the midst of this chaos, it is easiest for them to receive political dividends from their maneuverings. It is not by chance that deputies rush in droves to the state structures so that they can dispense priviliges and benefits. They will not turn their backs on this.

They need this state of chaos so that having blamed the popularly elected president for everything, they can take power against the background of this chaos and can restore their own old order, an order which leads Russia nowhere.

There is now no mystery about how to move forward. Everything is clear. This is not the problem. The problem is that we will not be allowed to get there until we get a proper majority in a parliament which wants Russia's good and well-being.

One way or another, there will be new elections. Let's stand firm at these elections. Hurrah for the president. [end recording]

'No Confidence' in Congress Urged

LD2803122293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1155 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—The principal idea being voiced at the current meeting on Vasilyevskiy slope near the Kremlin walls, organised by the public committee of democratic organizations, uniting more than 60 political parties and movements, is to support Russian President Boris Yeltsin and uphold democratic reforms in Russia.

People speaking from an improvised rostrum called for expressing no confidence in the current Congress of the People's Deputies of Russia.

Those present at the meeting were addressed by Gavriil Popov, chairman of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement. He called for establishing a single electoral bloc—a union of reformers—with a view to uniting all democratic forces of Russia. The idea was supported by many other speakers.

Rally Threatens To Impeach Congress

LD2803144993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Text] A rally of Moscow's democratic public in support of Boris Yeltsin and his reform course is continuing outside the walls of the Kremlin. Those taking part in the rally have unanimously voted for the adoption of a resolution that proposes to proclaim a people's impeachment of the congress and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation in the event that the Russian president is dismissed from office by the Congress of People's Deputies.

The organizers of the rally have called on Muscovites to join the rally, which they say will go on until late this evening.

Demonstrators Burn Khasbulatov's Effigy

OW2803135593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1310 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] At a rally on the Red Square, Boris Yeltsin's supporters have decided to stay put until the deputies end voting on the impeachment of Russia's President.

Addressing the meeting, Mr. Yeltsin declared that he would not "accept the decision of the Congress's conservative majority", regardless of what it were".

The widow of Dr. Andrei Sakharov, Elena Bonner in her speech at the rally voiced the view that there was no constitutional crisis in Russia since there was no constitution in the country. Only the people can dictate their will to the President, she noted.

Gavriil Popov (the leader of the Russian democratic reforms movement) favoured the creation of a single bloc of reformers. [passage omitted]

Vice-premier Vladimir Shumeyko declared resolve to hold a referendum "and "defend our President".

Participants in the meeting burned an effigy of Khasbulatov.

Yeltsin Thanks Supporters After Congress

LD2803193993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1834 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Address by President Boris Yeltsin to crowds of supporters outside St. Basil's Cathedral in Red Square, Moscow, following vote by the Russian Congress of People's Deputies—live]

[Text] Dear friends and people of Moscow. One only has to recall when the weather was a bit different, in August 1991. The people of Moscow won then. And the people of Moscow won today [cries of "Hurray" from crowd].

Some thank the deputies, but I thank the people of Moscow. I thank you who have been here—the majority of you—since this morning, the whole square, 100,000 people. I thank you for your support, and I swear to you to do everything not to fail your support, because it is thanks to this that I serve you [places hand over his heart].

Thank you very much. Congratulations on your victory. [men surrounding Yeltsin on platform raise their hands in victory salute; Yeltsin joins in; crowd chants "Yeltsin, Yeltsin"]

Of course, the scenario was prepared by specialists from the former CPSU Central Committee, and it was for that reason that the communist coup failed [crowd cheers]. This is why the people have won, why reform has won, why democracy has won, why young Russia has won, and it will now move forward—I am certain of this—better this year than last year, which was very difficult [crowd cheers].

Thank you. I thank the government which, at this difficult moment said "enough." Practically the whole of the government said: We are with the president. And they never faltered. Here is Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin [Chernomyrdin smiles].

Today, there were meetings, well, at least, perhaps, of course, well, in hundreds of towns and regions of our Russia. And for this reason one can say "thank you" to all Russians for this support and for this victory. It is only because you acted in this way that this victory proved to be a reality. Thank you again, dear friends. [Yeltsin waves goodbye to the crowd, who chant "Russia, Russia," with Yeltsin joining in]. Thank you. [Yeltsin shakes hands with others on the platform and then leaves the platform].

Anti-Yeltsin Opposition Gathers at Gorkiy Park

Heads for Parliament Building

LD2803103893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1011 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Participants in a meeting, who gathered near the entrance to the Gorkiy Park here on Sunday [28 March] at the call of the Russian Communist Workers' Party, the Working Russia and Working Moscow Movements, are moving along the boulevard ring road in columns.

They intend to advance from Smolensk Square to the Moskva River embankment, where they will join participants in a meeting being held there by the National Salvation Front.

The demonstrators advance with difficulty because of ongoing transport traffic along the thoroughfare. The demonstrators are chanting "all power to the soviets (councils)" and "peace to cabins, war to palaces".

'Opposition Government' Ready To Take Over

LD2803120193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Report by A. Pishchayev]

[Text] "All power to the Soviets!", "Long live the Soviet Union!", "Fascism will not pass!"—such were the slogans recited by representatives of Working Russia who assembled today near the Moscow Central Recreation Park. The speakers stressed that they are defending the people—not Khasbulatov or Astafyev—while Kuzbass envoys assured the angry proletarian masses from a high rostrum that the common miners did not support Yeltsin.

The speakers—vested with the people's trust—said that all prerequisites for power to be taken over by the people were ready: the indignation of the proletariat and the opposition government. As for the latter, it is to include Tuleyev, Starodubtsev, Anpilov, and Slobodkin.

In the resolution adopted by the rally, the participants expressed their support for those deputies who demand Yeltsin's resignation. In the meantime, the masses sympathetic to the bolshevik past formed columns and marched in a well-organized manner from Mayakovskiy Square and Arbat Street to the White House. "Motherland or death!", "Away with Zionists!"—microphones were bursting with these slogans, recited by representatives of the Russian Party, Russian National Assembly, Working Moscow, and CPSU members.

General Sterligov unambiguously told the gathering: I appeal to officers. It is now time to watch all developments closely. If things go too far, we must be ready to have our say. Our aim is to take over power.

Other speakers joined in. A whispered suggestion swept the crowd: Why don't we do it right now? Militia patrols nearby watched the developments attentively.

Urged To March to Kremlin

OW2803114193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1104 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Leftist and nationalist parties and movements staged a rally outside Russia's parliament. According to the police, the rally gathered about 14 thousand people. Speakers voiced support for those deputies who intend to force President Boris Yeltsin to resign. Some called for restoring the Soviet Union, others shouted, insulting the president. Addressing the rally, the leader of the Working Russia movement, Viktor Anpilov, urged those present to march to the site outside the Kremlin, where President Yeltsin's supporters had gathered.

Militia Ready for 'Clashes'

LD2803133893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Text] Demonstrators from opposing movements in Moscow are currently in the Manezh Square. A short time ago they left Gorkiy Park and the House of Soviets—the places they had been given permission to assembly—and left for the Kremlin.

The demonstrators were stopped by the militia in Manezh Square, where the rally is continuing.

According to militia officials, there are around 30,000 people in the demonstration opposed to the president, while on Vasilyevskiy Slope there are about 100,000 supporters of the president. Leaders of the Moscow directorate of internal affairs are also there; they are ready to take measures to prevent clashes between supporters of the different parties and movements.

'Unauthorized' Rally Gathers 15,000

OW2803133193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1307 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] About 15 thousand people are taking part in the unauthorized rally in Manezh Square in the center of Moscow. The rally was initiated by the National Salvation Front and by the Working Russia movement with support from various pro-communist and nationalist organizations.

The demonstrators, whose posters call for President Yeltsin's resignation, came to Manezh Square from the parliament building, when the city authorities and law-enforcers had decided, with a view to averting clashes, to remove cordons and let the demonstrators gather outside the Hotel Moskva in direct proximity to the Kremlin.

Large units of law-enforcers, included mounted police, have been stationed in the area of Red Square.

Judging by their calls, the demonstrators intend to stay in Manezh Square till the results of the voting on the impeachment of President Yeltsin and Speaker Khasbulatov are announced.

Those present were addressed by Deputy Mikhail Astafyev, who said that the confrontation between Yeltsin and Khasbulatov has no personal nature; it's a clash between "different mafia clans controlled from abroad".

With reference to the outcome of the voting on the destinies of the president and the speaker, he said that members of the intractable patriotic opposition had never been the speaker's followers.

"If Ruslan Khasbulatov loses his post of parliament speaker, we'll be able to cope with President Yeltsin at the upcoming referendum," Astafyev declared. Participants in the rally applauded him and shouted approval.

Intend to Block Kremlin

OW2803134593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1309 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Participants in the rally staged by the leftist forces in front of the parliament building decided to shift the site of their rally to Manezh Square. As the leader of the Officers' Union, Stanislav Terekhov, said, "because of the situation in and around the Kremlin the place for the leftist and patriotic forces is Manezh Square".

Participants in the rally announced their intention to block the Kremlin at the Borovitsky Tower, and stay there till the democrats free the site near the Spass Tower.

They are moving along Kalinin Avenue. The police did nothing to stop them.

By 14:30 [1030 GMT] the demonstrators reached Arbat Square, where army trucks for transporting troops had arrived earlier.

At the intersection of Garden Circle and New Arbat police patrol cars formed a cordon.

According to IF [INTERFAX]'s correspondent, water cannons emerged in the area of Arbat Square.

30,000 Reported at Rally

LD2803145593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1417 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Leonid Timofeyev and Vladimir Shchevel]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Columns of the Working Russia and the National Salvation Front, in opposition to the president, left the places of their gathering near the Gorkiy Park and the government

house and headed for the Kremlin. The demonstrators were stopped by militia near the Manezh Square and continued their rally in the square.

Leaders of the National Salvation Front Mikhail Astafyev and Ilya Konstantinov asked their supporters not to disperse until the congress passes the decision on the president's impeachment. According to the militia, some 30 thousand people gathered in the square.

ITAR-TASS learned from the militia that chiefs of the Moscow militia are ready to take decisions to prevent clashes between supporters of different political parties and trends. Militia has enough resources to prevent undesirable incidents in the centre of the capital, it was said.

Demonstrators at Moscow Hotel Demand Yeltsin Resignation

OW2803173093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting, sponsored by national-patriotic parties and public organizations, is continuing at the "Moscow" hotel. Its participants demand that Boris Yeltsin resign and intend to wait until the results of the secret vote have been announced at the Congress. A delegation of national patriots, including Anpilov, Sterligov, and Terekhov, tried to agree with law enforcement officers so that demonstrators be allowed to go down to the Vasilyevskiy slope, where the democrats-sponsored rally is under way. However, to avoid undesirable clashes, police keep the demonstrators away from the Red Square. All approaches to the square to the nearby streets are sealed off by police and buses.

Yeltsin Supporters, Critics Hold Rallies in St. Petersburg

LD2803124493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1154 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dzhon Polishchuk]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 28 Mar—Palace Square in the center of St. Petersburg was today divided in half by special militia detachments. On one side were gathered representatives of the opposition parties, and opposite them, defenders of the president and of reform.

Thousands of St. Petersburg residents supporting the popularly elected president of the Russian Federation came to the square at midday. They gave an ovation to the column of demonstrators with Russian flags that joined them after marching through the streets of the city center.

The gist of speeches by the leaders of "Democratic Russia" was the call to give utmost support to Boris Yeltsin, who has appealed to the people in his time of trouble: to prevent a return to the communist past and to defend Russia's freedom. The demonstrators urged consolidation of all democratic forces. They chanted: "As long as we are united, we are invincible!".

An opposition rally was organized by the Russian Communist Workers' Party, the All-Union Communist Party [Bolshevik], the Working Leningrad Movement, the monarchists, and the leaders of the Liberal-Democratic Party, Russia Party, and others. Red flags, national flags, the banners of the naval fleet, and portraits of Lenin, Stalin, and the popular television journalist Nevzorov, waved above the heads of the demonstrators. The speakers declared these to be symbols of opposition to the democrats, who have seized power and brought the country to catastrophe. The demonstrators demanded Yeltsin be put on trial, proposed putting an end to the president and government once and for all, and cursed the market relations that they believe have been foisted upon Russia by foreign countries.

TV Journalists 'Locked In' by Demonstrators

LD2803173993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By unidentified correspondent from St. Petersburg; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] To use every possible means to show support for the president of Russia—that is briefly the main idea behind the thousands-strong rally in the Palace Square. Many arrived at the rally carrying their portable radios, and when it transpired that the congress agenda would include the issue of impeaching the president, people's faces became tragically gloomy, while representatives of labor collectives of St. Petersburg spoke from the podium one after another about supporting the policy of reform.

In the meantime, journalists of St. Petersburg television found themselves effectively locked in. A group of citizens with red and other flags sealed the entrance to the television center. [video shows portion of crowd chanting "Yeltsin," another portion shouting "Disgrace to Zorkin"]

Supporters, Opponents of Yeltsin Gather in Rostov-on-Don

OW2803174393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Rostov-on-Don, supporters and opponents of President Yeltsin have held separate meetings.

A rally sponsored by Don's democrats in support of Yeltsin's actions gathered about 700 people. It adopted a resolution, underlining the people's right to solve acute social problems through a referendum.

Another meeting was organized by the united front of working people and a number of national patriotic

parties and movements. Some 300 people who gathered for the rally voiced support for Soviet power and constitution and for the resignation of Russia's President. They passed a resolution, saying that the Presidential decree on state support for cossacks has "left cossack extremists and their leaders free to act". The meeting decided to demand that the regional council ask the Constitutional Court of Russia to repeal the decree.

Don cossacks have officially stayed away from all rallies in Rostov-on-Don.

Astrakhan Holds Meeting Supporting President Yeltsin

OW2803174093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A conference in support of the Russian president took place in Astrakhan on Sunday [28 March]. It was organized by the local center for supporting the president set up by the regional branch of Democratic Russia, with the participation of the Democratic Party, the People's Labor Party, the Republican Party, the Economic Freedom Party and the international fund for supporting entrepreneurship. Spokesmen for the local Cossack community joined the conference.

Those present condemned the stance taken by the 9th congress of people's deputies and by the chairman of Russia's Constitutional Court. They demanded that the congress cancel its resolutions on imposing parliamentary control over the news media, and on suspending the presidential decree concerning the Cossacks.

After the conference a public meeting was held in the center of Astrakhan. It adopted a resolution, demanding that a referendum be conducted on presidential powers and on private ownership of land. It also called for early elections of deputies of all levels. Speakers at the meeting urged the people of Astrakhan to be ready to go on a timeless strike or resort to civil disobedience, if the congress decides to depose the president.

Political Issues

Officials Comment on Government Reshuffle

Shokhin Discusses Changes

LD2603141993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1322 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar—Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin has not confirmed the rumors about the allegedly imminent resignation of Anatoliy Chubays from his position as chairman of Goskomimushchestvo [State Committee for the Management of State Property]. Talking to journalists today in the corridors of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, he stressed that "no other Goskomimushchestvo chairman will be capable of implementing the policy of privatization and flotation as energetically as Chubays is doing."

Commenting on the replacement of Vasiliy Barchuk by Boris Fedorov as finance minister, Aleksandr Shokhin said that "it is a question of strengthening the Finance Ministry, of seeing that there are fewer intermediate links between the deputy chairman in charge of finance and the economy and the actual Finance Ministry apparatus."

As for Andrey Nechayev's departure from the post of economics minister, the deputy prime minister ruled out any major errors on his part. "Recently, it seems to me, he has himself aimed to take up more concrete matters—specifically, in the recently formed Russian Finance Corporation," he pointed out.

As far as Nikolay Fedorov's resignation is concerned, Aleksandr Shokhin asserts that the president simply satisfied the justice minister's request. "As far as I am aware," the deputy prime minister added, "an election campaign is now under way in Chuvashia, Fedorov's homeland, to elect a president of the republic. I suspect that this move is partially connected with this event."

"I find it harder to explain the release of Boris Saltykov from the post of deputy prime minister, although the amount of work which he was doing as deputy prime minister did not enable him to concentrate on scientific questions," Aleksandr Shokhin said. "I can't say whether this was a voluntary choice or not," he added.

Aleksandr Shokhin stressed that he was "a supporter of broadening the social base of government, but not at the expense of representatives of political forces, but of professional specialists who may be recommended by these political structures."

Further Shokhin Remarks

OW2603142393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1339 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin told Interfax on Friday [26 March] that Vasiliy Barchuk, who was dismissed from his post as finance minister, asked long ago to be transferred to a different post due to health concerns. He has been named Russian ambassador to Norway. The cabinet will now return to the system by which the finance minister also serves as the deputy chairman of government, as it was under Gaydar.

This, Shokhin believes, will strengthen the Finance Ministry and reduce the number of intermediate links between the deputy chairman of government on finance and economy and the actual apparatus of the Ministry of Finance.

Shokhin said the other vice premier, Boris Fedorov, who is responsible for the financial-economic bloc in government, is currently "picking up young and energetic deputies." Another first deputy minister (there are now two) was recently appointed: Sergey Dubinin, who earlier served as deputy chairman of the State Committee on Collaboration. He administered financial issues in the framework of the CIS.

Andrey Nechayev, now the former minister of economy, was much rebuked by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in December of last year. Probably, Shokhin said, Nechayev saw the logic in this choice and decided to take up more concrete work. He will now work at the recently established Russian Finance Corporation, which will help enterprises receive financial credits.

Shokhin believes the resignation of Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov was largely caused by his desire to participate in the presidential elections in Chuvashia.

Shokhin didn't know "whether Boris Saltykov made the decision voluntarily" in giving up his post of vice premier, but at least he will be able to concentrate all his efforts on resolving difficult issues connected with the organization of scientific activities.

Shokhin declined to comment on whether rumors of the impending resignation of Anatoliy Chubays were justified, but Shokhin said he felt it would be practically impossible to replace him as chairman of the State Property Commission. Any replacement would certainly slow the rate of privatization, he thinks.

*** Head of the presidential administration Sergey Filatov told Interfax that further changes in the government are still coming. "It happens that a person becomes a minister, but in time it turns out that he cannot cope with the work. One can't blame him for this, but the minister must be replaced by a more professional figure," he said. Filatov said the government needs to be reinforced with professionals.

'Even More Changes' Possible

OW2603141093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1339 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sergey Stankevich, an adviser to the Russian president, does not rule out the possibility that after the re-arrangements in the government due to the president's decree from March 25, even more changes in the cabinet could take place. In an interview with Interfax in the lobby of the 9th Congress of Russian People's Deputies he remarked such changes would be made in order to broaden the government's social basis.

Stankevich especially stressed that the president's steps should not be seen as a response to the Civic Union initiative to expand the composition of the government by including various social and political forces. "This is the president's personal position at which he arrived independently," Stankevich said.

Aleksey Yablokov, another adviser to the president, is convinced that the cabinet "should be based on more broad forces in society." In an Interfax interview he stressed that now "not just a few new people must enter the government." Yablokov also said that the main criteria when choosing candidates for ministerial posts will be "not popularity with the public, but professionalism and the necessity of expanding the social basis on which the cabinet operates."

Filatov Sees Chubays, Kozyrev Remaining

LD2603172593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Sergey Filatov, head of the administration of Russia's president, in a conversation with a RIA correspondent, said he does not rule out further dismissals within the government. He nevertheless gave the assurance that the question of the resignation of Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is not being examined.

According to Filatov, it is not now a question of setting up a coalition government in Russia. I am not aware of a single case where a political goverment has extricated a country from a crisis, he stressed.

The fact that Boris Yeltsin appealed today to all representatives of society to attract professionals to key posts in the government was evaluated by Sergey Filatov as follows: This shows that candidacies to future ministerial posts will be offered not only to people from within the group around the president, but also to people from outside.

Nechayev Warns of Replacements' Danger

OW2603160993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1555 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Andrey Nechayev believes replacing at this moment the top echelons of the Russian Economics Ministry he has been in charge of for the past 17 months "may prove dangerous." Nechayev was dismissed as Economics Minister by President Boris Yeltsin, at the suggestion of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, on Thursday [25 March].

Nechayev said Chernomyrdin had suggested a few days ago that he resign. "I left because I couldn't work in the government unless I felt absolute support on part of the Prime Minister," he said.

He told Interfax on Friday that his ministry had been accused of failing to do something that was outside its authority.

The ex-minister thinks that, if the President meant his dismissal as a concession to the opposition, he was

embarking on a "dangerous path." 'Surrendering' government figures brings no dividends. It simply whets the appetite of the opposition," he said.

At the same time, the government unanimously supported Yeltsin in the present situation, Nechayev said, although there were disagreements as to what practical methods were to be used. Some of the ministers, he said, insisted on most resolute action, others thought there were still chances for a compromise. The former minister does not think his dismissal is directly related to the present alignment of forces in the government.

Although approving of the idea of a coalition government in principle, Nechayev believes that in the present situation in Russia this would be "extremely dangerous" since it is unclear whether the parties and movements wishing to participate in such a government would be able to work out a single economic policy.

He said the Premier had offered him several other jobs, including "some which are normally offered in such cases." He "refused to go away," however, since he wishes to stay in Russia and take part in its economic and political life.

Nechayev said he might now take part in the practical organization of the Russian Finance Corporation, instituted by Yeltsin's decree of March 15.

Commenting on what he felt about his forced resignation, Nechayev said, "All of us realized what we were in for, so I'd been aware right from the beginning that exactly that could happen."

Filatov, Lipitskiy, Stankevich Comments

OW2603182393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Yeltsin's proposals to include in the Russian government professionals from areas away from the centre least of all means, as some deputies say, transition to a political coalition cabinet, the head of the President's administration Sergey Filatov told Interfax at the Congress on Friday [26 March].

In his words, there is no precedent of a political coalition government to lead a country out of crisis. "We need experienced bankers and fresh professionals" - Filatov stressed and suggested that there might be other changes in Chernomyrdin's cabinet since "we are people, and each of us can get exhausted by work."

The chairman of the centric "Civic Union" Vasiliy Lipitskiy has noted in an interview with Interfax that his alliance supports the cabinet changes. In his words, at a meeting with Mr. Yeltsin on March 25, Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, a Civic Union leader "offered a number of sensible ideas to the president, part of which was incorporated in the proposals the president has spelled out at the Congress and in his decision to modify the government."

Talking to Interfax reporters, the Presidential adviser Sergey Stankevich noted that the cabinet changes "were not a bargain but common views shared by the President and the voters." He stressed that the government reshuffles today were the fruit of analysis by the President himself.

Chubays Ill, Not To Resign

OW2603182993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1756 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Vice-Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays does not plan to resign at any time in the near future, an Interfax correspondent learned from the vice-premier's press secretary Arkadiy Yevstafyev. According to the press secretary, the cancellation of Chubays' press conference scheduled for today is "solely linked to the illness of the vice-premier."

The press secretary stressed that "rumors of Chubays' possible resignation are unfounded." In Yevstafyev's words, the vice-premier is at home with a "high temperature."

'Key Ministers' To Remain

OW2803061593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0547 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his interview with INTERFAX during the 9th Congress of the People's Deputies, Vladimir Shumeyko reported that the latest reshuffles in the composition of the Russian government were planned ones and they were connected with correction of the reforms' course. He pointed out that apparently, "there will be no new replacements on the posts of vice premiers and key ministers." The question is to include new people into the composition of Council of ministers.

Yuriy Yarov, the deputy chairman of the head of Cabinet of Ministers, reported to INTERFAX that the opinion of the Federation's subjects will be taken into account during the consideration of candidacies for the vacancies in the government. "It will be quite legal if, according to the Federative Treaty, people proposed by the Federation's subjects will occupy these vacancies bearing in mind their professionalism," Yuriy Yarov summarized.

Shapovalyants Appointed Economics Minister

LD2803095493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0924 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has entrusted the discharge of the duties of a Russian economics minister to Andrey Shapovalyants, the first deputy minister.

Ivan Materov was appointed the first deputy minister of economics. Appropriate instructions were signed on March 26.

By a decree of President Boris Yeltsin, the then Economics Minister Andrey Nechayev was relieved of his duties.

Termed 'Transitional Figure'

MK2703144693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 27 Mar 93 p 3

[Leonid Brodskiy report: "Appointment at Economics Ministry. Reshuffle Has Only Just Begun"]

[Text] As was expected by KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts, after the resignation of Economics Minister Andrey Nechayev his deputy, Andrey Shapovalyants, has been appointed acting economics minister. Many Economics Ministry officials and outside observers are almost sure that Shapovalyants is merely a transitional figure at the head of the ministry. The definitive appointment to the post will not be made until the balance of power within the government is clarified.

It was Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov who announced that Andrey Shapovalyants had been temporarily appointed acting minister. The announcement was made at an extraordinary collegium meeting in the ministry after the staffers were officially told about Andrey Nechayev's resignation. Until yesterday, Andrey Shapovalyants was first deputy minister. In describing him, virtually all point to his dizzying career at the former USSR State Planning Committee. During 15 years of his work at that organization he rose through the ranks to become chief of the finance department. That position, according to the nonofficial table of ranks, carried more clout than the very post of finance minister. At the same time, observers note that Shapovalyants has virtually no real chances of carrying on as minister. The main reason for this is that, being a steadfast advocate of Yegor Gaydar's ideas, he can suit neither the industrial lobby in the government nor representatives of the regions who are now jockeying for various benefits (particularly so because Shapovalyants, a professional economist, will not dance to their tune, either).

Yeltsin Issues Decree on Living Standards

LD2803224393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0724 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 28 March (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Federation Presidential Press Service released today the text of President Boris Yeltsin's decree signed on 27 March: On Urgent Measures to Stabilize Living Standards of the Population of the Russian Federation in 1993.

In order to reinforce the social orientation of the economic transformations which are under way, and to prevent a further decline in the living standards of the population, I decree that:

1. Central bodies of federal executive power, councils of ministers (governments) of republics within the Russian Federation, bodies of executive power of krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and cities of federal significance must, in preparing and implementing decisions related to economic and financial stabilization, consider their social implications and impact on the living standards of the population.

2. The Council of Ministers—the Government of the Russian Federation—is to prepare and submit, according to established procedure and within two months, the draft of the Law of the Russian Federation "On the Subsistence Minimum." The subsistence minimum is to be used as a social standard by which the gradual increase in the minumum wage, pensions, grants, social allowances, and social assistance for citizens on low incomes is to be gauged.

3. It is deemed necessary to strengthen the incentive effect of the taxation system on stabilizing production and saturating the consumer market with goods and services.

The Ministry of Labor of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Economy of the Russian Federation, and the Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation are to prepare and submit to the Council of Ministers—the government of the Russian Federation—in April 1993, proposals to improve the system of tax regulation of spending on wages, linking spending to production growth, as well as the draft of the Law of the Russian Federation "On Regulating Pay in the Russian Federation."

4. It is deemed expedient to raise the wage rate (payment) of the first category in the uniform wages network covering the remuneration of workers paid for out of the budget to 4,500 rubles per month and to use the established procedure to make the corresponding changes to the amount paid to staff working for bodies of representative and executive authority, as well as servicemen and members of the rank and file and officers of internal affairs bodies.

5. The Council of Ministers—the government of the Russian Federation—the central bodies of federal executive authority, the councils of ministers (governments) of republics within the Russian Federation, bodies of executive authority at kray, oblast, autonomous oblast and autonomous okrug level, as well as in towns of federal significance should, within the framework of social partnership and with the participation of trade union associations and associations of employers, implement the agreed actions to stabilize prices and wages and contain inflation.

6. With the aim of realizing citizens' rights to free medical assistance in state and municipal health care institutions of the Russian Federation, it is deemed expedient to provide additional financing in 1993 of the above-mentioned institutions through mandatory health insurance resources.

The Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation is to approve the program of mandatory health insurance for citizens of the Russian Federation for 1993.

7. It is deemed necessary to upgrade the role of the republican (federal) and territorial social support funds in implementing effective targeted social protection for the most needy citizens and to determine permanent sources to supply these funds. The Ministry of Social Protection of the Population of the Russian Federation, and the Ministry of Labor of the Russian Federation, in conjunction with the Ministry of Economics of the Russian Federation and the Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation, are to prepare the appropriate proposals and submit them to the Council of Ministers—the government of the Russian Federation.

8. Councils of ministers (governments) of the republics within the Russian Federation, bodies of executive power in krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and towns of federal importance are recommended to:

Formulate and adopt regional programs of social protection for the population for 1993, having included in them measures to provide financial and material help to low-income citizens;

Ensure the continuation, even during privatization, of a system already existing in regions of the provision of consumer services for war veterans, invalids, lonely elderly, large families and other categories of the population, as well as a socially orientated system of public catering at work and study places.

The Ministry of Social Protection of the Population of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Employment of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Agriculture of the Russian Federation, the State Committee of the Russian Federation for Industrial Policy, the State Committee for the Management of State Property, the Committee of the Russian Federation for Food and Processing Industry, the Committee [words indistinct] Policy, the Committee [words indistinct] of the population in implementing an effective targeted social protection for citizens in acute need and to identify permanent sources for the formation of these funds. The Ministry of Social Protection of the Population of the Russian Federation and the Ministry of Employment of the Russian Federation, jointly with the Ministry [words indistinct] of the population.

The Russian Federation Committee on Price Policy is to prepare recommendations on regulating price formation and to provide practical assistance in their implementation.

10. [as received] In order to improve the financial situation of families with children, students and several categories of the elderly and invalids, it is deemed expedient:

a) To raise the lump sum allowance for the birth of a child;

b) To increase the size of payments to pupils and students of higher, secondary, basic vocational, and general educational establishments, to cover the cost of food in order to compensate for its rising prices;

c) To increase the pension for the loss of a breadwinner by the value of the social pension stipulated in point "a" of Article 114 of the Law of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic [RSFSR] "On State Pensions in the RSFSR" to invalid children who are complete orphans;

d) To increase the size of the addition to the pension for caring for pensioners of 80 years of age and over and for Category I invalids, up to the level of the social pension stipulated by Point "a" of Article 114 of the Law of the RSFSR "On State Pensions in the RSFSR."

The Council of Ministers—the government of the Russian Federation—is to determine the procedure and timescale for implementing the measures that are envisaged by sub-points "a" and "b" of this point, as well as to prepare a draft of the legislative act for implementing the measures envisaged by sub-points "a" and "d" of this point for submission to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation according to the esablished procedure.

11. The Council of Ministers—the government of the Russian Federation—is to determine the procedure for and the sources of financing the measures envisaged by this decree.

12. The Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation, together with the ministries and departments involved, is to prepare proposals for introducing the relevant changes into existing legislation in connection with the adoption of the present decree.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin

Yeltsin Instruction on Fund for Disabled

LD2703175693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1019 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 27 March (ITAR-TASS)—An instruction issued by the president of the Russian Federation, dated 27 March, sets up the Russian Federation's national fund for the disabled. Its status will be that of a state enterprise. Its main tasks will be to give expert

opinion on innovative programs and projects which aim to resolve the problems of disability and invalids. It will also stage competitions to select the best such programs and projects and will participate in their financing, with the involvement of its own and outside resources, according to the press service of the president of the Russian Federation today. As a state contribution, the Russian Federation government has been instructed to set aside 100 million rubles for the fund.

Another instruction of the Russian president approves the status of the coordinating committee in charge of the affairs of the disabled under the president of the Russian Federation. An instruction of the president of the Russian Federation approving the setting up of coordinating committees in charge of the affairs of the disabled in a number of regions of Russia was also made public today, notes the release by the Russian Federation President's press service.

Economic & Other Issues

Yeltsin Decree To Revise Foreign Trade Privileges

LD2803095293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0929 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation has signed a decree "On a Revision of Privileges on Foreign Economic Activities", the Presidential Press Service announced on Sunday.

The realisation of the decree is aimed at streamlining the mechanism for the granting of privileges in foreign economic activities and ensuring control over the purpose-oriented use of the allocated products.

Under the decree, the councils of ministers of republics that are part of the Russian Federation, the executive bodies of territories, regions, autonomous regions and districts, and cities under federal jurisdiction as well as directors of enterprises, institutions and organisations should within two months present reports to the council of ministers about the channeling and expenditure of funds received as a result of all types of privileges in foreign economic activities in 1992-1993 by decisions of the Russian president and the government. Should they fail to submit such reports on time, the granted privileges would be suspended.

The decree determines a decision-making procedure for the granting and extension of privileges. Provision is made for the privileges in foreign economic activities to be targeted exclusively towards the implementation of specific investment and social programmes.

Yeltsin Signs Decree To Guarantee Savings

OW2803185693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1646 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Yeltsin signed a decree to guarantee the savings of Russians. His press-service points out that the document "aims at ensuring the savings of citizens and enhancing trust for national banks".

In line with the document, the Saving Bank is to raise deposit account interest, and the government along with the Central and Saving Banks are to formulate additional proposals on a mechanism to compensate citizens for their devalued deposits and on the forms of compensation.

The document finds it expedient to raise federal fund to guarantee bank accounts formed by deposits from citizens of Russia.

The fund will depend on both regular contributions by the bank offices, entitled to attract investment, and on additional RF [Russian Federation] budget allocations. The assets are not subject to confiscation and can be spend only on the aims envisaged by the fund.

Government Unveils Economic Restructuring Blueprint

MK2703165693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 27 Mar 93 p 2

[Nikolay Podlipskiy report: "Economic Restructuring. Economics Ministry Devises New Economic Structure"]

[Text] As it tries to sustain its image as the think tank of economic reform, the Russian Economics Ministry continues drawing up a restructuring plan for the national economy. On 26 March, Oleg Yun, chief of the department for the coordination of state programs, presented a report on the targets, conditions, and problems of the development of the Russian economy up to the year 2000. Experts note, however, that given the economic and political crisis, such theoretical developments may be left on the shelf and, at best, will serve merely as formal proof of the government's intention to create a competitive economy.

The reason the report was made public precisely at this time is that under the government's current plan of action for 1993 the federal economic restructuring program is to be completed by June, experts say. The report drawn up by Economics Ministry specialists effectively contains the key requirements for the program that is being drafted and fairly clearly defines its future character.

The upcoming restructuring, according to the Economics Ministry's plan, will be divided into two stages. The first stage is to last for the next two years. It will rely primarily

on restructuring through curbing and reorganizing inefficient production. At the same time, the key sectors will be supported and "active social policies" are to be pursued. The main steps include the liberalization of economic relations and financial stabilization. In addition, antimonopoly policies are to be intensified. Those who drafted the report have reaffirmed the intention of the Russian authorities to "open up" the Russian economy and liberalize foreign economic relations. The first stage, in the view of the concept's drafters, will be distinguished by a gradual reduction of the proportion of industrial production in gross domestic product coupled with the growth in the proportion accounted for by construction and agriculture.

The second stage of the restructuring will cover the period of 1996 to 2000. At this stage, the financial market is expected to revive and capital mobility to increase. The prime task then will be the development of investment-dependent sectors. Meanwhile, particular hopes will be pinned on the influx of foreign capital. In addition, high-technology sectors that are competitive on the world market will be given a boost, too.

According to specialists, the report and the future program literally restate last year's short-term federal restructuring program, which is not surprising because all the documents had been prepared at one agency, the Economics Ministry. The tentative choice of restructuring targets and techniques squares fairly clearly with the requirements of the international financial community, which traditionally attaches primary importance to this problem.

Whereas, however, the former government under Gaydar recognized, albeit as a token, the need for "across-the-board" and in many respects spontaneous restructuring, the incumbent government under the present circumstances has been trying to marry assurances as to the need for restructuring with conventional steps to support the key sectors and avoid mass unemployment.

Planned Stages of Russian Economic Restructuring

First stage (1993-95)

—Structural transformations carried out by curbing or reorganizing inefficient production;

—Support for the key sectors;

—Liberalization of economic relations and financial stabilization;

—Gradual reduction of the proportion of industrial production in Gross Domestic Product coupled with the increase in the share of construction and agriculture;

—Increasing the savings [fond nakopleniya] ratio to between 18 percent and 20 percent of the national income against the current 13 percent.

Second stage (1996-2000)

—Revival of financial market and increase in capital mobility;

—Development of investment-dependent sectors;

—Boosting the influx of foreign capital;

—Development of high-technology sectors that are competitive on the world market;

—Retention as priority tasks the support for housing construction and upgrading of communications system;

—Strengthening the export base through saving fuel, energy, and other raw materials.

Central Bank Chairman Responds to Fedorov Criticism

LD2603211093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1551 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By BUSINESS-TASS Correspondent Oleg Deyneko]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar—Russian Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko, in a letter to Viktor Chernomyrdin, the head of government of the Russian Federation, said the policies being pursued by the Russian Central Bank, aimed at resolving the economic crisis and developing credit and monetary policy, are correct.

A BUSINESS-TASS correspondent learned today that the message contains a reply from the Russian Central Bank chairman to a criticism by Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov on the draft of "the main orientations of monetary and credit regulation in 1993."

The Bank of Russia, the document says, cannot totally agree with B. Fedorov's idea, which differs from the Russian Central Bank's position in terms of the principles, methods and speed by which market reforms in the Russian economy are carried out.

In V. Gerashchenko's opinion, B. Fedorov's program is basically the mechanical transfer of the principles of formulation and implementation of monetary policy pursued in countries with developed market relations which, of course, is unacceptable to Russia. Unlike the deputy prime minister's program, which is oriented toward the classic stabilization programs tried and tested by the IMF, the Russian Central Bank's program makes provision for a gradual transition to a stabilization program not of the traditional type.

It seems that the theoretical differences may now take on practical meaning as B. Fedorov was appointed Finance Minister of the Russian Federation by a presidential decree on 25 March.

Yeltsin Instruction Approves Servicemen's Benefits

LD2703140593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1230 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 27 March—A program for priority state measures to step up the social protection of servicemen of the Russian Federation, persons discharged from military service, and the members of their families, in the conditions of economic and military reform, was approved today by an instruction of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the press service of the president of the Russian Federation has reported.

The program envisages drawing up a number of laws, including on the status of servicemen and their pensions, alternative service, and the procedure for Russian citizens to do their military service. With a view to stepping up the social protection of servicemen in the current year, the drawing up of a whole range of drafts will be completed; they will be examined by the Council of Ministers—the Government of the Russian Federation. These are provisions regarding compulsory state insurance for servicemen and military reservists suffering as a consequence of accidents, exercises, tests, and other work with nuclear installations, etc., and implementation of a number of measures with a view to resolving the housing problem and improving servicemen's social welfare.

In accordance with the instruction, in 1993 the program is to be financed from allocated budget appropriations, funds from the selling of military hardware made redundant in connection with the cuts in the strength of the ArMed Forces of the Russian Federation, the troops' extra-budget funds, and the private funds of servicemen and persons discharged from military service as well as the attraction of funds of commercial structures, the report of the press service of the president of the Russian Federation says.

Pacific Fleet Assistant Commander Arrested for Negligence

LD2603164393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0740 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Timofey Orekhov]

[Text] Vladivostok, 26 Mar—With the approval of Aleksandr Kuznetsov, deputy to the Supreme Military Prosecutor of Russia, Captain First Rank Vladimir Denisenko, assistant commander to the former commandant of the Pacific Ocean Fleet, was arrested today. He has been accused under Article 260-1, Point V of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation of "dereliction of official duty with serious consequences."

A preliminary investigation has established that commanders of naval units on Russkiy Island, where well-publicized tragic events took place, approached the assistant commander several times for assistance in repairing heating pipelines, in improving supplies of food and stores and medical services for personnel. But the high-placed officer in charge dodged altogether the task of solving the servicemen's crucial problems.

The article in the criminal code under which Vladimir Denisenko has been charged envisages a sentence of up to seven years. Charges should have been brought against him yesterday, but on learning of the decision, the officer fled the investigator's room, only reappearing at the procurator's office today, accompanied by a lawyer, after a preliminary telephone conversation with the deputy procurator of the Pacific Ocean Fleet.

TV Reports on Launch of Converted SS-25

PM2603145193 Moscow Russian Television in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Report by A. Shiryayev and S. Teplov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] An experimental Start rocket carrying a spacecraft was launched from Plesetsk today. The Start rocket is a conversion rocket. It is based on the Topol missile system's ballistic missile in service with the armed forces.

[Shiryayev] This will be the first experiment to dispose of an SS-25 strategic missile naturally, so to speak. In order to avoid having to blow it up—which is disadvantageous from an economic, environmental, and even commercial viewpoint—the strategic launch vehicle has been converted, and this hangar was built specifically for the launch.

Tribute must be paid to the authors of this project, which will not only help to save many material resources but will also provide an opportunity to earn good money on launches like this one. Many companies in various countries of the world have expressed interest in placing advertisements aboard the carrier. There are also proposals to use the Start-1 launcher to place artificial earth satellites in orbit.

Flight Control Center Reports Cosmos-2237 Parameters

LD2603201893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1444 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Flight Control Center reported that another earth satellite, Cosmos-2237, was launched from the Baykonur cosmodrome today by a Zenit carrier. The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research. The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: Initial period of revolution 102 minutes; apogee 879 km; perigee 851 km; orbital inclination 71 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus on board the satellite is working normally.

Progress M-16 Spacecraft Ends Flight

LD2703130493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1205 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Flight Control Center (ITAR-TASS)—The flight of the unmanned "Progress M-16" spacecraft, which for over a month was part of the "Mir" orbiting complex, ended today.

The transport spacecraft undocked from the station at 0721 hours Moscow time. At the initial stage of the separation, the equipment of the unmanned spacecraft was carried out by remote control by Gennadiy Manakov and Aleksandr Poleshchuk.

The further flight of the "Progress M-16" spacecraft was carried out under instructions from earth. At the set time, the unmanned spacecraft's engine was switched on. "Progress M-16" went into a descent trajectory, entered the dense layers of the atmosphere, and ceased its existence.

Regional Affairs

State of Emergency Imposed in North Ossetia, Ingushetia

LD2803095593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0906 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin, by a decree dated 27 March, has imposed a state of emergency on the territories of part of Prigordnyy rayon and adjacent localities of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic and of part of Nazranskiy rayon of the Ingush Republic beginning 31 March of this year, his press service announced today.

The measure was prompted by the worsening of the situation on part of the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, with mass unrest and inter-ethnic conflicts involving the use of weapons and military equipment.

By the same decree the Russian president, beginning 31 March, has cancelled the state of emergency in the remainder of the two aforementioned republics, which has been in operation since 2 November 1992.

Under the document, for the duration of this state of emergency in part of the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, a ban is imposed on the staging of rallies, demonstrations and strikes, and weapons and munitions are being confiscated from citizens, enterprises and organizations.

For the duration of the state of emergency a provisional administration is being introduced as a special form of government in the aforementioned areas. The executive bodies of the existing local soviets of people's deputies in the areas will come directly under its authority. At the same time the activity of the soviets themselves is being suspended.

Boris Yeltsin has appointed Yu.V. Shatalin as head of the provisional administration and V.D. Ulybin as his deputy.

The decree comes into force from the time of its publication.

Situation Remains 'Complicated'

LD2903124993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1208 GMT 29 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 29 TASS—Russian peacekeepers are the only guarantor of stability in the zone of Ossetian-Ingushi conflict, however it is through talks and mutual concessions that peace can be restored in the region, according to Yuriy Shatalin, head of the temporary administration in the zone of conflict. "There is no other way out", he told TASS on Monday.

There was various response in North Ossetia to the prolongation of the state of emergency in the conflict zone up to May 31.

The situation in the region remains complicated. Unknown people opened submachine gun fire over a train with Russian investigators at the railway station in Nazran, Ingushetia.

An armoured personnel carrier with strange identification marks—a circle inside a triangle—was seen near the settlement of Ekazhevo near Nazran.

45 people were detained for violating the curfew in North Ossetia and Ingushetia, 23 crimes were committed.

Russian Forces 'Fully in Control'

LD2703171793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1006 GMT 27 Mar 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Excerpts] Vladikavkaz, 27 March—The forecast that the termination of the Muslim fast of "uraz" could lead to an exacerbation of the situation proved to be unfounded. According to the headquarters of the interim administration, the situation in North Ossetia and Ingushetia on the whole remains relatively stable. Units and subunits of the Russian combined forces are fully in control of the situation in the region.

Unfortunately, however, the crime situation in the conflict zone is not improving. This is connected with the fact that there are up to 150,000 firearms still in the hands of the local inhabitants; for over three months there has been no exchange of hostages by the sides in the

conflict zone, and illegal armed structures have not been disbanded. [passage omitted]

Today the press center of the Supreme Soviet of South Ossetia denied reports that allegedly the labor of hostages of Ingush nationality is being used on the territory of South Ossetia. [passage omitted]

Chechnya Political Struggle 'Intensifying'

LD2803174893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0801 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 28 March—Representatives of the legislative and executive authorities in Chechnya are intensifying their attacks against each other. The newly formed Constitutional Court of the republic has joined the fray, by pronouncing that President Dzhokhar Dudayev is breaching the constitution of the Chechen Republic by imposing his veto on parliament's decisions. At the same time the court pointed out that the appropriate article in the Basic Law should be revamped to give the president the right of veto on parliament's decisions.

The argument arose after Dzhokhar Dudayev attempted to stop the referendum on the form of government in the republic called by the Chechen Parliament. As has already been reported, a nationwide poll was to have been held yesterday, 27 March. However, the referendum as such did not take place, either because its initiators had failed to make arrangements, or because at the final hour they found a common language with the president. Be that as it may, in most towns and villages in Chechnya people did not even know about it.

The political situation in Chechnya remains extremely uncertain. The two main branches of power are taking conflicting decisions, all of which remain, however, on paper. Meanwhile, the formerly growing opposition has gone silent.

Aide Denies 'Incredible Rumors' of Don Cossack 'Coup'

PM2803094193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 93 p 1

[Vasiliy Andreyev report plus "Stop Press" item: "Quiet Flows the Don Still: Rumors About Cossack Republic Exaggerated"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's edict "On Reforming the Military Structures and the Border and Internal Troops on the Territory of the North Caucasus Region of the Russian Federation and on State Support for the Cossacks" whipped up that section of the Cossacks in Rostov-na-Donu which wants to resolve this long-standing problem overnight. According to some mass media reports, soviet power has been virtually toppled in the city and a Cossack republic is being set up.

Yesterday we managed to contact the prosecutor of Rostov Oblast, Senior Legal Counselor Albert Posidelov.

The prosecutor rejected such incredible rumors. According to him, all the structures of power in the city are operating normally, there is no question whatsoever of any coup.

"Where, then, did the rumors spring from that Cossacks are picketing the oblast soviet building?"

"Whenever the soviets examine 'Cossack issues' people gather at the building and animatedly discuss the problem," Posidelov suggested.

"But there is the well-known order issued by Rostov District Hetman Tsykin which, as it says, 'to avert the real threat of civil war in Russia,' requires Cossacks 'to mount a campaign and introduce a special situation...'."

"The legality of that order was contested by the prosecutor's office on 22 March. We have challenged the order in court. As far as I am aware, Vasiliy Kaledin, hetman of the Don Host, at a session of the oblast's inner soviet, asked those present not to pay the order undue attention."

According to the prosecutor, people in Rostov-na-Donu are aware that the problem of Cossack self-administration cannot be resolved in the city. That is the prerogative of at least the Supreme Soviet of Russia. And in that situation the inner soviet can only submit its proposal to the republic parliament. It is not clear to anyone yet how it will be resolved. Nor is it clear whether the population will support the radical section of the Cossacks. Many rayons and oblasts are preparing for sowing, and they are in no mood for political games.

As of now a commission has been set up jointly with Cossacks which will tackle all questions stemming from the president's decree.

Stop Press...

As reported by ITAR-TASS, the Cossack pickets set up in front of Rostov Oblast Soviet and certain city and rayon soviets in the oblast have disappeared. Those taking part in gatherings of Don Cossacks and the grand assembly [bolshoy krug] have returned home. Proceedings are being taken against those responsible for anti-constitutional actions.

Rostov Cossack Actions 'Insignificant'

PM2603172193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 93 p 1

[P. Ponomarev and M. Tultseva report: "The Quiet Don Stirs"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—The chairman of the Rostov Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, the Rostov Oblast administration head, and Vasiliy Kaledin, hetman of the Union of Cossacks, concluded an agreement on cooperation between the authorities and the Union of Cossacks

24 March. The agreement envisages a series of measures for the execution of Russian Federation laws and presidential edicts pertaining to the Cossacks. In particular, the agreement outlines the resolution of a number of questions concerning land and Cossacks serving in the Russian Armed Forces.

Picketing of the oblast soviet's building ended some 24 hours before the Russian Television and Radio Company's piece went out on television. Internal affairs organs guard the oblast soviet premises in the normal fashion, and Special-Purpose Militia Detachment personnel and Army troops are not used to ensure its security. True, it has to be pointed out that several insignificant, but unpleasant incidents involving Cossacks have taken place around Rostov Oblast in the last few days.

Several other incidents have also taken place on the oblast's territory, and as a result of one of them the Cossacks actually had combat weapons confiscated from them. In the settlement of Aleksandr-Grushevka, the local hetman demanded from the authorities the introduction of the post of deputy Cossack administration head and a personal automobile. The attempt to seize power in Aleksandr-Grushevka stopped at that.

Cossacks Introduce Direct Rule

MK2703151093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 27 Mar 93 p 11

[Report by Andrey Rakul, Dmitriy Kamyshev: "Cossacks Promise To Observe Constitution"]

[Text] Late on 25 March Aleksandr Martynov, ataman [chieftain] of the Russian Cossacks Union, read out a statement by the Council of Cossack Troop Atamans supporting the decision of the Great Krug [assembly] of the Don Cossack Army on introducing ataman rule (KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported on the latest events in the Don area yesterday). At the same time the statement stressed the Cossacks' adherence to the Constitution and Russian laws and explains that the new procedure of administration affects solely the Cossacks.

The Ataman Council's statement has come as a reaction to tough declarations from the leaders of the Rostov Oblast Soviet and Oblast administration that described the actions of the Great Krug as an attempt to seize power directly. The atamans expressed their disagreement with the fact that the ongoing events in the Don area are being presented as something extremist and illegal, and described as falsification the "attempt to interpret the legitimate decision by the Don Cossacks' Krug to reestablish the Don Cossack Troop Area within the Russian Federation as a decision to form an independent republic." According to the atamans, the true reasons for what has occurred lie in the fact that the central and local authorities are ignoring the decree of the Russian parliament and the edict of the Russian president on supporting the Cossacks, which provokes the Cossacks to express their protest.

The atamans' statement was backed up by the lifting of pickets stationed by the Cossacks outside the buildings of the Rostov Oblast Soviet, and also some city and rayon soviets. Observers believe, however, that the lull in developments in the Don area will probably not be for very long and will last approximately until mid-April, when a session of the Oblast Soviet is due to take place devoted to Cossacks' problems and measures to implement the 15 March presidential edict. It is not ruled out that by that time the edict itself will undergo considerable changes since many of its provisions have evoked sharp opposition from legislators at various levels and could be challenged in the Constitutional Court. A number of deputies point to the hasty and ill-advised nature of the edict, which, in their view, confirms the theory that this document was a tactical move by the president made to win as many supporters over to his side as possible. Local observers, however, believe that in the end the Cossacks not only did not help the president, but actually seriously damaged his authority by trying to use his edict to justify their not always legal actions.

The explanation by the Ataman Council that the restoration of the Don Troop Area does not mean the creation of an independent republic does not remove the problem of separatism in Cossacks regions from the agenda. In the context of a power crisis there is an increasingly real danger that other Cossack areas that do not agree with the decisions of a particular branch of power will take the path of proclaiming independent Cossack formations, creating along Russia's borders yet another belt of instability.

International Affairs

Russian Crisis 'Pretext' for Remaining Nuclear Power

MK2703133293 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 27 Mar 93 p 3

[Mikhail Shchipanov commentary: "We Get the Crisis, Ukraine Gets the Missiles?"]

[Text] The constitutional crisis gripping Russia has spurred on those who advocate the turning of Ukraine into a nuclear power, de jure this time. Naturally, political instability in Moscow has come as a balm for the souls of Ukrainian radical nationalists who never tire of arguing, as they do, that a "handful" of nuclear missiles cannot do any harm to their country if it comes to blows with Moscow. Nowadays people are talking quite openly about the retention of some nuclear facilities by Ukraine, a country that promised, under the Lisbon protocol, to move over into the category of nonnuclear powers. And not just any people, but one of the foremost political personages—Pavlychko, chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Commission.

The new scenario for Ukraine's joining the nuclear club is plain: Kiev ratifies the SALT I [as published] treaty that provides for scrapping only part of the strategic carriers deployed on Ukrainian territory, while everything not covered by the treaty remains in the country as a keepsake, so to speak. This souvenir, in fact, promises to be quite valuable—some 40 modern mobile SS-24 missiles. The only trouble is that a legal pretext is important for advocates of Ukraine's "nuclearization." Had there been no crisis in Moscow, it would have to have been invented.

Air Force Chief Refutes Russian Assertions on Bombers

LD2703201593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Having familiarized themselves with the statements made by Colonel General of Aviation Petr Deynekin, commander in chief of Russia's Air Force, in an interview with the IZVESTIYA newspaper, staff of the press service of Ukraine's Defense Ministry have come to the conclusion that they did not correspond to reality. If Ukraine does not hand over heavy bombers to the Russian Air Force in the next few months, these superairplanes will fall into disrepair and will perhaps be useful only as scrap metal, General Deynekin argues.

Ukraine's right to heavy bombers and to any other military equipment which is deployed on its territory is confirmed by the Minsk agreements among the heads of the CIS states. Assertions that Ukraine privatized them are absolutely groundless. This is how Major General Borys Tymoshenko, chief of the Air Force and Air Defence Department of the Main Headquarters of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, commented on Petr Deynekin's statements. He told the press service of the Ukrainian Military Department that Ukraine repeatedly offered the Russian Ministry of Defense an exchange of heavy bombers for other type of airplanes and spare parts and units for them. This was also discussed during the negotiations in Moscow which were held at the beginning of March between the Ukrainian military and representatives of the Russian Federation. However, the Russians ignored these proposals. Borys Tymoshenko said that the strategic missile carriers which are deployed in Ukraine are in working condition and in full combat readiness, contrary to the assertions by General Deynekin.

Politicians Evaluate Developments in Russia

MK2703131493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Mar 93 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report under "Ukraine" rubric: "Kiev Politicians Concerned at Situation in Russia. But They Think of Ukraine Above All"]

[Text] On the eve of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of Russian People's Deputies and on the day it opened various political, public, and sociopolitical meetings, movements in Ukraine continued to comment on the events in Moscow. Probably the harshest statement was that by the extreme nationalist political association "Power Independence of Ukraine," in which the association's members advocated that "Ukraine's politicians, while supporting the Russian president's reforming policy and attempting somehow to express their view on this, should not forget that Russia has always denied the peoples' right to build national states on their own ethnic lands." "We do not forget that Russia has always sought solutions to its problems outside its own borders," the statement by "Power Independence of Ukraine" reads. The association's members issued an appeal for Ukraine's now real borders to be equipped as soon as possible, primarily on its northeastern limits.

At the same time, the mass media have received several statements signed by various leaders of the People's Council, the opposition in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. One of these statements says, in particular, that the People's Council "comes out resolutely in support of the policy of radical economic reforms, the further development of democratic processes, the principle of the separation of powers, and the introduction of private land ownership in both Ukraine and Russia. The People's Council calls for efforts to be pooled in the struggle to assert democracy, peace, and concord and for everything possible to be done to prevent a development of events in our society along the Russian pattern." Commenting on events in Russia, Les Tanyuk, member of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium and a former leader of the People's Council, declared: "It is a question of a large-scale conspiracy by yesterday's revanchist forces and of the restoration of communism and the socialist Leninist-Stalinist empire. Ukraine is renowned

as a state with a communist leadership, and I believe that Ruslan Khasbulatov's visit to Kiev is connected with this, but he miscalculated. Even representatives of Ukraine's procommunist parties refused to support him." According to Les Tanyuk, if the revanchists headed by Ruslan Khasbulatov win in Russia, Ukraine must leave the CIS without delay. "We cannot be in the same union as people who pursue an imperial, profascist line—this would compromise us throughout the world," Les Tanyuk summed up.

During his visit to the United States, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko took a more considered position. He expressed concern at the events in Russia, but refused to comment on them. "We respect Russia's legislature and executive and would like them to find a common language," Anatoliy Zlenko told local reporters after meeting with U.S. President Bill Clinton.

Foreign Minister Zlenko Concludes Washington Visit

LD2703192293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Ukraine Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko has concluded his visit to the American capital. A meeting took place between the minister and U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin. During political consultations in the Pentagon, a wide range of issues on expanding cooperation between Ukraine and the United States in the military and military and political spheres was discussed. The head of the external political department of Ukraine also had a meeting with Assistant Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers, met members of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and delivered a speech in the Council for International Relations, an influential public organization which unites well-known political and public figures, political scientists, and representatives of the mass media. Oleh Bilorus, Ukraine ambassador to the United States, took part in the talks.

Zlenko Urges UN To Minimize Damage From FRY Sanctions

LD2703132293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Great economic damage is being inflicted on Ukraine as a result of international sanctions against Yugoslavia; therefore, Ukraine requests that the UN Security Council take measures to minimize this damage.

This was stated by Anatoliy Zlenko, minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine, at a news conference in the UN headquarters.

Ukraine's economic losses through its active participation in anti-Yugoslavia sanctions amounted to $3-4 billion, Anatoliy Zlenko noted.

Official on 'Inconsequential' Arms Sales to Middle East

TA2803132493 Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 28 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Itamar Eichner, ITIM correspondent in CIS]

[Text] (ITIM) Kiev, Ukraine— "The rumors that the Ukraine is selling weapons to the Middle East are very exaggerated. We refused to sell weapons to Libya, Iraq, Iran, and Syria on moral grounds, although they promised a higher payment than the market prices."

These remarks were made by Mykola Ivanovich, the Ukrainian president's political adviser [name and title as published], in a meeting with Israeli reporters touring the CIS on behalf of the Jewish Agency. The meeting was held in the Ukrainian Government building compound in Kiev. Ivanovich is one of President Leonid Kravchuk's closest aides.

Ivanovich added that contrary to rumors, Ukraine sold Middle East countries weapons in the total amount of $20 million throughout 1992—"an inconsequential amount in view of the large quantities of weapons funneled to the region."

The senior official further said that Ukraine often forgoes large sums of money, as it sells weapons very carefully despite its dire need for foreign currency.

"We refused to sell assault weapons to Iraq, but Poland promptly filled the void by signing an agreement with them. As a result of that, we lost $200 million and were subjected to harsh criticism by the Ukrainian media and Parliament members. For that reason, it is very difficult for the president to reject arms deals. You have to understand that Ukraine suffers from a shortage of energy for heating and agriculture. If we do not purchase fuels, we will bring famine on Ukraine. Russia is conducting a deliberate policy of cutting off Ukraine's fuel supply," he said.

Ivanovich stressed that having no choice, Ukraine sold small quantities of weapons to foreign countries, but those were handed solely to what he termed "responsible people." As for Iran, the official said it had an agreement with Ukraine for the purchase of spare parts, but definitely not assault weapons.

Ivanovich said the relationship with Israel is very important to Ukraine, as proven by President Kravchuk's visit to Israel. When peace is achieved, Israel will have major impact on the Middle East, and that is the reason for Ukraine's interest in Israel. Ivanovich conveyed President Kravchuk's congratulations on the election of Israel's new President 'Ezer Weizman.

The official promised that the Ukrainian borders will remain open to Jewish emigration to Israel, although he predicted that "some of the Jews will return."

ITIM adds that some 500,000 Jews live in Ukraine. The head of the Jewish Agency representation in Ukraine, Tzvi Rom, said that under the amended Law of Return, the number of potential immigrants from Ukraine stands at 1 million. According to him, Ukraine is the second largest CIS origin of immigration to Israel: 1,300 immigrants per month. Over 60 Israeli and local Jewish Agency representatives operate in Ukraine.

Belarus

Shushkevich 26 Mar Address to Supreme Soviet

WS2603170093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0758 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich at the emergency session of the 11th Supreme Soviet in Minsk—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] ...It was impossible for the republics to live together. The only way out was to get a quiet divorce, without a scandal, with the division of the property and debts. When we decided to create the CIS, we had two goals: to introduce deep democratic changes into our society and to establish new principles of economic relations among the states. The solution of the first task is of great importance: our society has become much more democratic. The CIS has provided the legal basis for keeping a single information space, for non visa visits of our citizens, for the realization of other human rights and freedoms. If the CIS had not been able to provide a civilized disintegration of the USSR, the situation could have been uncontrollable. It is also obvious that the rise of national self-awareness, the international recognition of young states, the regulation of their relations with the other countries, even the awareness that some of them are living beyond their means, all this credits the CIS. We could get our sovereignty, start to develop the state system, so, the current events were inevitable and the course of history cannot be reversed. Had the leaders of the CIS republics not met at the round table, had they not chosen the other means of solving their numerous differences and disagreements, the scenario of the disintegration of the empire could have been quite different, more bloody and tragic. By creating the CIS, we have prevented the Yugoslav variant of the events in our countries. Considering all this, we can say that the CIS has fulfilled, is fulfilling, and will be fulfilling its constructive mission. It goes without saying, the CIS has a positive historical record.

Currently, two global processes are under way: the full reorganization of the economy and the building of the new state system. I need not say how difficult they are. Unfortunately, the CIS creation has not stopped the process of the disintegration of the USSR economy which started in the eighties, and has not protected the sovereign states from the flames of local and ethnic conflicts. These most difficult problems of the last decades could not be solved immediately. So, the CIS cannot yet fulfill its mission in the economic sphere. Production output is falling, while inflation is growing. But can we say that life could be better if there were no CIS? Many deputies see the reasons for our failures only in the existence of the CIS. But they forget that they themselves gave the green light to the CIS when they voted for the ratification of the Belovezhskaya Pushcha agreement. It is necessary to turn the CIS from an amorphous structure into a structure that cannot only declare its good intentions but can realize them.

In this connection, I would like to talk about the need for strengthening the interstate National Bank, the Economic Court, the development of the economic union of the European Economic Community type which performs coordinative functions. The most pressing issue is the implementation of the adopted agreements in the sphere of economy, first of all, in the finances and clearing operations. I hope that the CIS governments will coordinate their actions regarding all the difficult economic issues, for example, in the financial and credit sphere. We cannot do without a coordinated tax policy and effective control over granting credit and regulating the circulation of currency. In addition, we must do away with political, economic, and state illiteracy, first of all, among the highest management.

Next, I would like to say a few words about the economic aspect of Belarus membership in military-political unions. Belarusian participation in military-political unions is most strongly supported by the management of the Belarusian enterprises which, in the past, were a constituent part of the USSR military industrial complex. The majority of the defense industry managers think that our participation in the CIS joint security system will give the Republic a chance to survive. They are naive! They think that in this case the CIS Defense Council will guarantee stable military orders for our industry. It can be compared with the case when a seriously ill person who needs a surgical operation is looking for a parapsychologist. In my opinion, the defense industry cannot be rescued either by the super economic union, or by participation in the joint security system. To my mind, the only way out is conversion, the program for which has been elaborated by the Belarusian Government.

The economic system of the former USSR has collapsed because of the ruinous defense industry, the arms race, and it would not be realistic to think that our Belarusian economy could bear this enormous financial burden. As a result of the first reforms in the Belarusian economy, the monopoly of the state has decreased. We have made several steps in the direction of increasing the economic freedom of producers which is the first prerequisite for an effective economy. The enterprises have gained a legal basis for acting independently. The measures that had been carried out by the Supreme Soviet and the Belarusian Government have encouraged the formation of market infrastructure, the development of the private sector of the economy. Such laws as "On Property", "On Free Enterprise", "On Banks", "On the Market", "On Securities", and other economic laws, have made it possible to create the necessary legal and economic prerequisites for the development of market relations. In addition, we have tried to strengthen the relations with the countries of the CIS. Belarus has always supported the maintenance and development of economic relations within the CIS. On the initiative of the Belarusian party, the issue of economic cooperation has been discussed at almost all the CIS summits. A number of interstate agreements regulating bilateral and multilateral relations

have been signed. I can name "On the Principles of Convergence of State Legislations", "On Joint Principles for Delivery of Goods", "On Regulation of Economic Cooperation", "On Cooperation in the Anti-Monopoly Policy", etc. Since the CIS was formed, out of 270 issues that had been considered by the Council of Heads of States and Council of Heads of Governments, 74 issues concerned the economy. The CIS agreements were further realized in the bilateral agreements between Belarus and the other CIS members. But not all the republics have signed the economic agreements. Azerbaijan, Ukraine, and Turkmenistan with whom we have close economic relations have not signed some of them.

I want to emphasize that Belarus did not ruin the existing economic ties; it did everything to support the creation of economic organs that are capable of preventing their destruction. We supported the idea to create an interbank union and an interstate economic court and to make them function properly.

With regard to the situation in Belarus, I must point out that land reform is a component of the socioeconomic changes. There is no doubt that the reform of land ownership will greatly influence the issue of the use of land, and thus, that of supplying the population with foodstuffs. Considering that no law on land ownership has been adopted yet, we must admit that we are standing at the very beginning of the path. According to the decree adopted by the Republican Supreme Soviet, all the citizens were granted the right to private plots for agricultural production for both their individual needs and for [words indistinct]. As a result of this, the area of land used for individual needs increased 11.3-fold, and the area of land used for collective gardening increased 2.7-fold. Unfortunately, the allotment of private plots near big cities is going [words indistinct]. Although, these issues could be solved by executive bodies even today, if real care for people were displayed. There is a legal ground for this.

The first stage of privatization is currently under way in the Republic. This process is still in its initial stage. Denationalized and privatized enterprises constitute as little as 7 percent of the capital stock and the total volume of the industrial production. In order to advance the property reform, we are planning to commercialize state-run enterprises, simplify the procedure and reduce its duration, and reduce the list of enterprises that cannot be privatized. The government and the Supreme Soviet must introduce changes into the privatization program. The so-called small privatization should come first, that of the trade, the food service industry, and the housing construction spheres. There are a number of paradoxes in this issue—we do not privatize those branches that have been privatized by all the other states that have chosen the same path. I mean transportation and small commerce. This process is going too slowly. At the same time, we must totally reject the idea that privatization can be carried out very rapidly. We must consider the draft law on privatization certificates at our next session and make a final decision with regard to free-of-charge privatization of state property. The preparation of the necessary conditions for the demonopolization of the economy, including the determination of its legal, methodical, and organizational base, is being completed. We have taken measures against more than 200 monopolistic enterprises. However, the level of the Republican economy's monopolization remains high and calls for an immediate creation of economic and legal grounds for the enhancement of the demonopolization process.

The future of the state to a great extent depends on an efficient investments policy. But the mechanisms envisioned by the Law on the Investment Policy and Foreign Investments are being used unsatisfactorily. The lack of a complex investments program makes the crisis in this sphere even deeper. The main funds are sharply decreasing. In some industries it is reaching the 50 percent mark. The share of direct investments in the gross national product is decreasing. This is happening due to the unfinished construction projects, whose number is constantly growing, no matter what we do or say. This is very dangerous. In fact we are wasting our national income at an increasing rate. There are no tangible results of capital investments in the social sphere. The share of new industrial construction in the total of capital investments keeps growing. We still begin new construction, and then leave it unfinished.

The issue of drawing direct foreign investments in the Republic deserves special consideration. In fact we have no direct foreign investments. So far we can only speak about loans. The reduction of housing construction can hardly be called grounded, even if we regard this issue from the point of view of the market. We have the consumer—the Belarusian citizen, and we have the producer—the powerful Belarusian construction complex. This means the demand is not satisfied, and the problem remains. The mechanism is the point. According to the law adopted by the Supreme Soviet, the national housing construction program must become this mechanism.

The Republic must build its socioeconomic policy bearing in mind the necessity to create and efficiently use a single economic space within the CIS. It must constructively participate in the elaboration and implementation of a coordinated interstate policy directed at the stabilization of the ruble, prices, wages, and credits. This policy should be carried out in all the spheres of economic and social activity that demand coordinated actions. A firm fiscal policy envisions a dramatic reduction of budget expenditures being one of the main sources of the deficit. I want to point out that the Republic had no deficit before 1992. In 1992, it made 4.3 percent of the gross national product. Today we see how serious this problem is. The fiscal policy does not permit a tax increase, and laws on the social protection of the people of scanty means demand constantly growing expenses. Notwithstanding the difficult economic situation in the Republic, which is still deteriorating, notwithstanding the reduction of budget revenues, there have been a

number of decisions to grant additional privileges that make the situation even more dramatic. It was we who adopted these decisions. What may seem an attempt to make people's life happier, puts the industrialists and the government in a very tough situation. They cannot find money for the social programs. According to our forecasts, confirmed by IMF experts, the previous session alone adopted decrees on favorable taxation worth more than 100 billion rubles [R]. The system of privileges caused losses to budget revenues that reach R200 billion, or one-fourth of the total sum of all the revenues. Why does this happen? Because when separate laws are being adopted, they often envision favorable taxation, which has neither economic nor logical grounds.

Representatives of social and professional groups from various spheres adamantly uphold their narrow corporate interests, hurting interests of the state and the society, and thus deepening social injustice. We must also improve the tax system regarding the correction of the tax policy and the organization of the tax administration itself.

In practice, attention is paid only to the first issue—the correction of the tax policy. The strictness of the tax policy does not encourage economic activities. At the same time, the tax-collecting organizations are an important part of the tax system, which influences the efficiency of this system. It is necessary that a number of legal acts be urgently developed and adopted in order to increase the tax-payers' responsibility and define the rights and responsibilities of tax collection employees. These measures should considerably increase revenues to the state treasury without the excessive toughening of tax policies. The government policies aimed at supporting and developing trade and economic relations with Russia, first of all in the form of agreements between the governments, providing strategic oil, gas, and metal supplies for prices that are affordable for Belarus, become especially important. Growing prices for power sources force us to adjust our domestic prices. But under the circumstances, operational maneuvering of financial and credit resources allowed us to curb the hyperinflation. Moreover, credit support of the state economic sector and government expenditures [words indistinct] slowed the pace of production. [Words indistinct] conducting a number of important measures in pushing economic reforms and reducing social tension in the society. The demand for credit among agricultural farms to conduct the sowing and harvesting campaign was satisfied practically in full. Credits for cooperative and private housing have grown 21-fold. In order to liquidate crisis payments, the republican and interstate [words indistinct] on mutual indebtedness were often held this year, extending economic entities up to R60 billion in loans. However, these measures have not yielded the desired results. The economic policy was not tough enough. In several cases, banks extended credits to economically failed enterprises without guarantees that the latter would repay those credits. The government and the Supreme Soviet conduct a negligent wage policy. The wage fund outpaces the production increase. This ratio amounts to 2.6 in [word indistinct], 39 in construction, and 15 in transportation. The main factors that impede the economic development are low efficiency, especially in the state sector of the economy. The National Bank's policy of extending preferential credits allows many enterprises to hide their unprofitability, squander a great deal of raw materials and power sources, including those imported from abroad, and ignore their real material and financial capabilities. An additional destabilizing factor is an adverse trade balance in general, and the one with Russia in particular as well as the introduction, at the initiative of the Central Bank and the Russian Government, of bilateral clearing, which we have always opposed and continue to oppose. I do remember that the clearing was initiated by Russia, but it caused the liquidation of Russian, Belarusian, and Kazakh (?rubles in the ruble zone.) Mutual settlements based on the bilateral balance will inevitably lead to a drop in production and an increase in the Belarusian foreign debt, already amounting to R112 billion in trade with Russia. The integration of the Belarusian economy with those of other former Soviet republics, first of all with the Russian Federation, calls for the establishment a common economic zone and the introduction of a single currency. In this connection, Belarus should conclude an agreement with the Russian Federation on a common financial, credit, and foreign currency policy. This agreement should abandon bilateral clearing in trade and import and export quotas as well as set unified prices for power resources and raw materials.

Taking such a step, however, one should realize that Belarus will have to assume strict commitments. First of all, it will have to toughen its financial and credit policies. There is no other solution, which all of the people's deputies must understand. We should be more energetic in establishing [word indistinct] economic cooperation. United efforts within the CIS and on a bilateral basis will greatly accelerate reforms. Together it will be easier for us to overcome the current crisis, and the restoration of the horizontal links, [words indistinct], and the creation of free-trade zones will help stabilize the economic situation and form a single economic territory. We should take full advantage of the economic integration within the CIS, which is one of the most effective leverages capable of leading us out of the crisis. We have the opportunity to make the Commonwealth an interstate association of equal and sovereign partners. Here I see (?good prospects) for deepening the negotiating process with CIS leaders concerning the issues of social and economic development of our republics. This is a task for everyone: To increase the efficiency of the meetings of the CIS government and state leaders, [word indistinct] bodies of the Commonwealth. Cooperation and accord within and outside our state borders [word indistinct]. Thank you for your attention.

Kebich on Urgent Need for Economic Union

WS2603140493 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0821 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Speech by Prime Minister Vyachelsav Kebich at the emergency session of the 11th Supreme Soviet in Minsk—live, in Russian]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] From the viewpoint of the government, the only solution is an economic union based on multilateral relations. I am sure we badly need such a union. After numerous multilateral negotiations on its implementation, the government has come to the following conclusion. This economic union should be an integrated organization with stable ties which allow the maintenance of stable cooperation in the sphere of production, the development of trade, and other forms of cooperation, taking into account the division of labor and the specialization of production. This is how we see the definite framework of this union.

First of all, it must be beneficial to all members. That is why much work on coordinating mutual interests is lying ahead. No one can have a unilateral advantage at the expense of other members because otherwise such a union will not be able to exist. Second, this union cannot do without a reliable legal framework. All norms that will be included in it must conform with international law and the laws of member states. Third, a fruitfully functioning mechanism should become another integral part of the union. It must be based on such common principles as the mandatory coordination of budgetary, credit, and monetary issues and their precise implementation. The regulation of border and customs issues must also become an indispensable factor. Favorable conditions for the normal movement of goods and resources must be created. Fourth, in case of necessity, the members can regulate their relations with the help of both short-term and long-term local agreements. If someone does not like the word union, let us return to the concept of economic space, but only under the new conditions. Fifth, such a union will require a mechanism that can ensure its effective functioning. To this end, we must create a special body with definite powers that will consist of top officials who will possess the right to adopt independent and competent decisions. Sixth, it will be also necessary to create the systems of control and supervision and information. They will provide the governments with the information necessary to analyze the situation and adopt decisions.

All this, of course, is only a general framework for the economic union. If we start working on it, we will have to specify the details by taking into account the opinions of all parties. We have carried out some preliminary work and are ready to actively continue with definite issues concerning the formation of the union. In order to leave no space for any speculations, I would like to stress the following: The mechanism of interstate relations in the civilized world has been coordinated and tested through the decades. That is why the formation of any economic union does not affect their members' sovereignty. Such a union performs only one role—the strengthening of the national economy and the improvement of people's welfare. The creation of a voluntary union with other states fully conforms with Articles 10 and 11 of the declaration on the sovereignty of our Republic. If someone thinks that the creation of a new economic union is an easy job, he is absolutely wrong. Very hard and complicated work of defending the interests of our Republic lies ahead. I repeat that there can be no advantages for one member and that all of them must come to an agreement of their own free will. Such a union should defend the economic interests of all members. The creation of the new union does not mean the destruction of the existing CIS system. This means the economic strengthening of the CIS. We should be aware of the interests of all states that wish to participate in the new union. This is how I understand this issue. [passage omitted]

Moldova

Defense Minister Previews NATO Meeting, Departs

AU2803202593 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2000 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 26/3/1993—Divisional General Pavel Creanga, the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Moldova, will participate in the meeting of Ministers of NATO countries, which will take place on March 29th, in Brussels. Before he left, Pavel Creanga made a declaration while being solicited by a BASA correspondent. "Such a meeting also took place last year, but, because of the military conflict from Dniester Region, Moldova did not participate. The meeting pursues the goal to approach the position of participants in affairs concerning security and collaboration in the military area", stated Pavel Creanga. During a forum they will also analyze the activity of peace maintaining forces in zones of military conflict, added the Minister of Defense.

"The process of approaching the structures of NATO could also have positive results, for Moldova in the area of forming the national Army. The meeting could influence the resolution of the problem of Dniester Region", concluded Pavel Creanga.

Gagauz Premier 'Dissatisfied' With Draft Constitution

AU2603204093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2000 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Komrat BASAPRESS, 25/3/1993—Andrei Bulukli, the prime minister of the self-proclaimed Gagauzian republic, during his interview with a BASA correspondent declared that Gagauzians are not satisfied with the project of the Moldovan constitution which was recently published in the mass media. "We are totally dissatisfied with the version of the proposed constitution because it doesn't provide the right of national minorities to determine their own existence," expressed Andrei Bulukli. In the opinion of the Komrat's prime minister the present version of the Constitution in regard to the aspect of national minorities "is even less promising than the present Constitution." Andrei Bulukli

expressed pity concerning the fact that in the published project there are not any references to the version of Moldovan legislation of the special judicial status of Gagauzian areas: the legislation which after some modifications should become part of the new Moldovan Constitution. On the 26 of March, Gagauzian Deputies of all levels will meet together for a session. Andrei Bulukli reports that they will elaborate a common outlook towards the project of the Moldovan constitution published by the mass media.

Armenia

Foreign Ministry Protests to Azerbaijan Over Border Attacks

NC2603192193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Aram Safaryan, the Armenian Foreign Ministry's Press Secretary, has reported that the Armenian Foreign Ministry has sent a protest note to the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry in connection with the recently stepped up provocative operations by the Azerbaijani side on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border.

The note says: Azerbaijan is again undermining the proposed agreement on the cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh and on the Azerbaijani-Armenian border.

Azerbaijan has been using force for the last four years to achieve its objective of totally evicting and exterminating the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. However, following military defeats, Azerbaijan placed its hope on the blockades.

The blowing up of bridges linking Armenia with the outside world, gas pipelines, and other communications routes; the murder and abduction of Armenians and Armenian citizens from Armenia and the territory of neighboring countries; the blackmail of the governments of neighboring countries intended to prevent or reduce to a minimum the utilization of communications routes through these countries; the anti-Armenian propaganda unleashed in Azerbaijan; the dissemination of reports on the alleged blockade of the Nakhichevan Republic by Armenia; etc., are actions Azerbaijan implements against Armenia.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry has conveyed resolute protest to the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry and has demanded an immediate end to such actions, otherwise the Azerbaijani leadership will be held fully responsible for the consequences.

The text of this note has also been sent to the foreign ministries of the member countries of the United Nations and CSCE, as well as to (Korichenya), the coordinator of the working group of the councils of heads of state and government of CIS countries, so that the note can be handed to the foreign ministers of the CIS countries.

Azerbaijan Accused of Bombing

OW2603220093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2026 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Armenian Foreign Ministry accuses Azerbaijan of direct complicity in blowing up the pipeline through which natural gas reached Armenia across Georgia, a railroad bridge, and other Armenian links with the world.

The note to the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry sent Friday [26 March] insists that the provocative activities of the Azerbaijani side may thwart the negotiations on cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh and border areas between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

This suggests that the Transcaucasian policy of Azerbaijan amounts to state terrorism. The Armenian Foreign Ministry demands immediate cessation of terrorist activities and makes it plain that the responsibility for this will lay squarely on the Azerbaijani leadership.

Yerevan Reports Fighting 'Unabated' in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC2603201393 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Dear listeners, we now report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Fighting and exchanges of fire continue unabated in Nagorno-Karabakh. The main clashes are on the Mardakertskiy battlefront. Azerbaijani military units have tried but failed to seize the initiative there. Azerbaijani units, superior in number and better equipped, have lost their positions and retreated. Armenian self-defense forces are fighting to liberate Mardakert from the occupiers. After repelling the attacks, the Armenian fighters launched counterattacks in pursuit of the enemy units. Thousands of Azerbaijani officers and men were killed or wounded in clashes in the past month. The enemy also lost a lot of military equipment.

Azerbaijani military units attacked heights close to Oratag in Mardakertskiy Rayon the night before last, advancing a bit, but NKR self-defense forces obstructed their advance and forced them to retreat to their positions. The Azerbaijani units lost 15 men in the fighting and an enemy tank and infantry vehicle were destroyed. Two Armenians were killed and 11 others wounded.

Azerbaijani military units renewed their offensive in the same area yesterday. The Armenian freedomfighters rebuffed their attack. First reports said two freedomfighters were killed and four others wounded. The Azerbaijanis lost more, as they did in earlier attacks. The enemy units lost 28 officers and men in their onslaught on Armenian territory. Clashes continue in Mardakertskiy Rayon.

Azerbaijan's military units [words indistinct] on Melikashen and [placename indistinct] in [name indistinct] Rayon on 24 March. First reports said that at least 16 Azerbaijani troops were killed in the clashes.

The situation in the other NKR rayons, including the area around the humanitarian corridor in Lachinskiy Rayon, was relatively peaceful last night and this morning. Traffic on the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert highway is flowing.

The situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan remains unstable. Tension prevails, especially in the border areas of Kapanskiy, Kransoselskiy, Tavushskiy, Megrinskiy, Idzhevanskiy, and other rayons. Azerbaijan's military units intensified their provocative activities against Kapanskiy Rayon during the past few days. The Armenian Defense Ministry's press service reported that Kapan was fired on with Grad rocket launchers on the night of 24 March. Five rockets targeted the town and several peaceful residents were harmed. One resident was killed and two others were wounded. The situation on that part of the border was unstable yesterday. [Two placenames indistinct] in the rayon were fired on from Azerbaijan during the day. Return fire silenced the enemy. No one was hurt on the Armenian side.

Exchanges of fire took place in the border areas of Krasnoselskiy and Idzhevanskiy Rayons on the night of 24 March. Fire was also exchanged in the border areas of Krasnoselskiy and Megrinskiy Rayons yesterday morning.

Azerbaijan has obstructed the effort to create stability, but its provocative activities have backfired. Considering this, it would be appropriate to recall [words indistinct].

NKR Urges Azerbaijan To Halt Operations, Negotiate

NC2603200693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 26 Mar 93

["Statement issued by the State Defense Committee of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic"; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Thanks to the efforts of international organizations and mediating countries, real preconditions are being created for the peaceful resolution of the conflict between the Azerbaijani Republic and Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR].

But the Azerbaijani leadership consistently pursues a policy of force to resolve the conflict and tries to broaden it and drag other countries into it. Obstructing the CSCE's mediation efforts, rejecting the peace initiatives of the NKR leadership, and disregarding calls by realists in Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijani leadership continues to broaden the military operations that cause many deaths and inflict enormous (?damage) on the two peoples.

Adhering to the principle of the peaceful resolution of the Karabakh problem, the NKR Government again calls on the Azerbaijani leadership to halt the military operations against the NKR without advancing any precondition and to sit at the negotiating table.

The NKR Government also declares that if military operations against it continue, it will take the necessary measures to defend its territory and the security of its people. Responsibility for the worsening of the military confrontation rests with the leadership of the Azerbaijani Republic.

Government Hopes Russian Crisis Will Be Resolved

OW2603211893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2027 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenians hope that Russia will stay a stable democratic state, introducing democratic reform and creating a democratic civilian society, Aram Abramyan, presidential press secretary told Interfax Friday [26 March].

The political crisis in Russia was caused by, above all, by constitutional ambiguities. The press secretary thinks that the way to resolve it is to adopt a new Constitution. "I think that the Russian leadership will resolve the situation in favor of democratic change," Abramyan said.

Azerbaijan

Russian Border Guards Conclude Withdrawal

NC2603210293 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] General Iskender Allakhverdiyev, head of the Azerbaijan Ministry of National Security Administration of Border Guards, has informed a KHABER SERVICE NEWS AGENCY correspondent that the last Russian left Azerbaijan on 24 March 1993. The Russian border guard units based in Goytepe have been transferred to [placename indistinct]. Consequently, the Azerbaijan-Iran border is now guarded by Azerbaijan border guards. As such, Azerbaijan and Russia have fully complied with the agreement they reached on the temporary status of the Russian border guards and the question of their withdrawal. The agreement was concluded in September 1992.

'Heavy Battles' Near Agdere, Shelling in Fizuli Reported

NC2703202193 Baku TURAN in English 1359 GMT 27Mar 93

[Text] Baku, 27 March (TURAN)—The situation on the north of Karabakh remains very heavy, informs press-service of the Ministry of Defence. During the last 24 hours heavy battles around the village of Agdere [Mardakertskiy] were going on. On this direction Armenian troops continue their attempts to break defence of Azeri Army near Agdere. Both sides have losses in manpower.

Town of Fizuli came under heavy shelling from Armenian positions in Hadrut today early morning. There are destructions in the town.

6 men were wounded this morning in the result of shelling the territory of Tavuz region from positions in the Berd region of Armenia. At the same time five villages of Kedabek region came under shelling from Armenian positions in the region of Krasnoselskiy.

Defense Ministry Reports Armenians Seize Villages

NC2803153393 Baku AZERTAC in English 1443 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, March 28 (AZERTAC)—According to the Defence Ministry of Azerbaijan, units of the Armenian National Army launched an offensive on the Kelbadzharskiy area of Azerbaijan on the 27th of March. Six villages were seized, and there were a great number of victims among the civilians. The Azeri National Army could partially suspend the offensive.

Head of the president's press service Arif Aliyev disproved report of the INTERFAX agency about an offensive of the Azeri National Army in the Kelbadzharskiy area. According to him, this information was framed-up by Armenian side as a cover for their aggression.

According to the defence department, fights became stronger near the Sarsang storage pool.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Meets CSCE Delegation, Views Russian Crisis

Hopes Democracy 'Will Be Victorious'

LD2703173193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1545 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By GIA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 27 Mar—Both in the Tskhinvali region and in Abkhazia there are signs of some tendency towards rapprochement between the parties to the conflict, expressed as willingness to hold talks under the aegis of the CSCE. This was stated by Khalil Akinazhi, who heads a CSCE delegation received today by Georgian Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze. The peace mission of the European conference has now been in Georgia for more than three months, seeking a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in the two regions.

Of the situaton in the conflict zones, Shevardnadze said that it is "constantly changing in direct dependence on what is happening in Russia." Therefore, he said, "we very much hope that democratic Russia, led by the president, will be victorious in the contest with the conservative neo-communist forces. This would enable Georgia to establish the normal mutually beneficial relations, customary between equal sovereign states, with its northern neighbor."

Yeltsin 'Will Have the Upper Hand'

OW2803095093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1616 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking before the CSCE delegation on Saturday [27 March], head of the Georgian parliament Eduard Shevardnadze said Georgia is confident that the democratic forces in Russia headed by president Yeltsin will have the upper hand. The CSCE delegation has been staying in Georgia for four months, seeking ways for achieving peaceful settlement in Abkhazia and Northern Ossetia. In the words of Mr Shevardnadze, a victory of democratic forces in Russia would enable the two countries to restore friendly relations between them.

Eduard Shevardnadze noted that the situation in Abkhazia and Northern Ossetia becomes "subject to immediate changes depending on the developments in Russia."

Head of the CSCE delegation Khalil Akinazhi, on his part, informed the Georgian leader of the results of his trips to Abkhazia and Northern Ossetia. In his words, there is a tendency transpiring there indicative of a possible rapprochement between the belligerent sides which are now showing their readiness to hold talks under the auspices of the CSCE.

'People's Will' Determined Congress Outcome

LD2703202593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1820 GMT 27 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 27 Mar— "The aggressive conservative forces did not manage to secure a victory at the congress, and this happened because in the end the people's will determines everything," Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the republican parliament, said in an interview for Georgian television today. "If it were not for the support of the people, the congress might have gone in a different direction."

Eduard Shevardnadze also stated that during the congress there was a consolidation of reactionary forces, but this was not sufficient to secure a victory for them, despite the fact that their ranks had been reinforced by "yesterday's so-called democrats, who are seeking official positions today."

"Russia is such a vast country," Eduard Shevardnadze declared, "that I cannot rule out the possibility of new confrontations. However, if democratic forces are backed by the people, I have no doubt that they will win. I think that the Russian president will strengthen his position and very soon we can hope to see Russia and Georgia living as good neighbors."

Shevardnadze Radio Address Views Russian Events

Comments on Impeachment Vote

OW2903115793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1144 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the state of Georgia, Eduard Shevardnadze, commenting on the results of the vote to impeach President Yeltsin of Russia at the Congress of People's Deputies, stated that "Russia's reactionaries were not able to win." In his regular radio broadcast on Monday [29 March] he expressed the opinion that the Russian public's support for Yeltsin, especially by people from Moscow and Petersburg, played a decisive role in the victory over reactionaries.

According to the Georgian leader, only one battle has been won, but not the war. "Yeltsin and the true democrats in Russia will have to put a lot of effort in to make the process of democracy become irreversible in Russia," Shevardnadze stressed.

When speaking about problems of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, he stated that a dialogue between the two sides should play a large part in the settlement of the conflict.

'Struggle' Continues; 'Anything May Happen'

LD2903123293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1150 GMT 29 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Gvirtishviliy and Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi March 29 TASS—"The reactionary forces have failed in Russia, which meets the interests of the whole world," Georgian Parliamentary Speaker Eduard Shevardnadze said on Monday [29 March], commenting on the results of voting for the impeachment of Russian President Boris Yeltsin at the Congress of People's Deputies.

"However, anything might happen yet if Yeltsin and his supporters fail to irrevocably assert a democratic way of development in Russia," Shevardnadze said.

"Communist coup d'etat has failed since Muscovites and residents of St. Petersburg gave their support to the president. Boris Yeltsin was right expressing his gratitude to the people for their support, and not to congress' deputies. I think that was the end of one stage in the struggle between democracy and reactionary forces. However, the struggle is going on and anything may happen yet," Shevardnadze said.

Considering a possibility of his meeting with Boris Yeltsin, Shevardnadze said: "We are making no particular demands on Russia, except that it observe resolutions of the final document of September 3, 1992, signed in Moscow."

"At any rate, no matter what way Russia will follow, it is best if Georgians and Abkhazians resolve the Abkhazian problem themselves—this is the best guarantee for bringing the war to an end. Many people among separatists began to realise it, they also began to realise the fact that they have been deceived in many respects. They are getting convinced that unless a Georgian-Abkhazian is started, the very existence of the Abkhazian people, its language and culture remains undecided," Shevardnadze said.

Abkhazia Closes Border at Leselidze

AU2603153693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] The Abkhaz side has closed the border near to Leselidze [adjoining Krasnodar Kray] and has introduced special regulations for crossing it as a result of which persons who have entered into Abkhazia cannot leave Abkhazia through Leselidze.

Abkhaz Casualties in Ochamchire 26 Mar Reported

AU2703152393 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Today we contacted the Georgian Armed Forces General Staff press center in Abkhazia and spoke to press center employee Zviad [name indistinct].

[Begin recording] During the morning of 26 March, it remained quiet at the River Gumista. At around midday, the enemy fired at our positions from infantry vehicles and rocket launchers. As a result of the return artillery fire, they were forced to desist. Later, enemy snipers became active.

During the evening, the Abkhaz side brought several units of heavy equipment up to the front line and tried to carry out intensive bombing on our positions. As a result of return artillery fire, their attempt was foiled.

The enemy was active again at approximately 0500. They brought heavy equipment up to the front line again and started to bomb Georgian positions. Several shells exploded in the village of Achadara [Sukhumi rayon]. One house was destroyed. Fortunately, there are no casualties on our side. After this, it was relatively quiet along the front at the Gumista River. Only infrequent submachine gun fire was heard. The situation did not worsen.

At the moment, it is quiet along the whole front at the river. There are no active combat actions. [end recording]

Today, we contacted Ochamchire and spoke to [name indistinct], an employee at the press center.

[Begin recording] Yesterday, late in the evening, there was an attempt by enemy subunits to enter the village of Merkula that was halted in time by units of the Georgian Mkhedrioni [Horsemen, military formation]. Several of the enemy were killed.

Also, late in the evening, an attempt by the enemy to concentrate its forces near the village of Labra was observed. The operation lasted two hours. Defense Ministry forces and units belonging to the 24th Brigade located in Ochamchire carried out the operation splendidly. There were casualties on the enemy side.

The situation is normal now in the town. Only sporadic shooting can be heard. [end recording]

Intense Fighting Continues

LD2803104493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Text] The Ministry of Defense of the Abkhaz Republic has reported that the intensive exchange of fire from all types of weapons and weapon systems on the Gumista front is continuing. The exchange of fire became much more intensive beginning at 0000 today. The Georgian side fired on Abkhaz armed forces' positions and on the civilian settlements of Eshera, Gvandra, and Shitskvara. Fire was also directed at the laboratory of the Russian troops in Eshera.

According to provisional information, there are fatalities and casualties among the servicemen. In the Ochamchira Rayon, Georgian Government troops are continuing tank and artillery fire on the settlements of Labra.

Significant forces are concentrated in (Pokaush) and Beslakhuba. According to the latest information, the Georgian command is preparing for a large scale offensive.

Russian SU-25 Bombs Sukhumi; Abkhaz Retreat Near Labra

AU2903093293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Here is a recording we have just received over the phone. We were speaking with Soso , head of the press center of the Main Staff of the Georgian Armed Forces in Sukhumi.

[Begin Margishvili recording] On 28 March, at 0250 [2250 GMT], a Russian SU-25 military plane attacked residential areas of Sukhumi and our combat positions on the River Gumista. The plane first dropped parachute flares, so-called garlands [girlandebi], and then several bombs on Sukhumi's central regions and Shukura and also the River Gumista. The air attack was repeated at approximately 0600. Fortunately, there were no casualties as a result of these bombings.

During the night, there were fairly active positional battles along the River Gumista. By morning, however, the shooting was not so intense. In the afternoon, the enemy again became active and fired at our positions from heavy equipment, grenade launchers, rocket launchers, and also submachine guns. Snipers were active. Georgian Armed Forces returned the enemy's fire. Positional battles continued until late in the evening.

The same day, that is to say yesterday, Georgian Armed Forces attacked the enemy's positions near the village of Labra in Ochamchire rayon. They forced them to abandon their positions and retreat significantly.

At approximately 2300, an enemy ship appeared near the shore at Babushara [Gulripshi rayon] that was fired upon by shore defense units. As a result, the ship withdrew into the open sea.

Last night passed off fairly quietly and there were no active combat actions. Only at dawn, the enemy tried to become active and brought heavy equipment up to the front line. However, as a result of defensive fire by our Armed Forces' artillery, they were not given the chance and were forced to withdraw their tanks.

At present, it remains fairly quiet at the River Gumista. [end recording]

Army Command Issues Statement

LD2803163693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0959 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By GEORGIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent]

[Excerpt] Tbilisi, 28 March (TASS)—[passage omitted] The bombing of residential areas in Sukhumi continues, causing destruction, deaths, and injuries, says a statement released today by the Command of the 2d Army Corps of the Georgian Armed Forces in Abkhazia. It lays all the responsibility for this on "separatists in Abkhazia, and their hirelings and protectors" and states that if similar barbaric actions recur, it will issue an order to strike back without warning.

Tbilisi Reports Trench Warfare

OW2903125493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1144 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian armed forces started an attack on Sunday [28 March] in the village of Labra, in the Ochamchira region of Abkhazia, and have taken a few kilometers deep into territory controlled by Abkhazis. This report comes from the Georgian Defense Ministry's press center.

According to the press center, at the Gumista front near Sukhumi on Sunday and Monday trench warfare continued and artillery fire was exchanged.

The Abkhazian defense ministry, however, denies the report of an attack by Georgian forces on the Ochamchira front. According to information from the Abkhazian side, in this region, Georgian formations have only re-grouped themselves.

Abkhazians, Russians Blamed for 16 Mar Sukhumi Attack

LD2603184893 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1156 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] It has become known from reliable sources that the plan to attack Sukhumi, which was carried out on 16-17 March, was worked out in the city of Gudauta by the operational headquarters of airborne assault forces. The plan was agreed with the Russian Ministry of Defense. The main initiators of this arrangement are V. Ardzinba, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia, and Sorokin, commander of the Russian troops in Abkhazia. The latter was given a considerable sum in foreign currency for it. It has been established that the order to attack Sukhumi came from Ardzinba.

It is noteworthy that aviation bombs dropped on Sukhumi came from the arms depot of the Bombora airbase following orders from Sorokin himself. It must be noted, too, that the reasons why some of the bombs did not explode are being investigated by the commission which was specially set up by Sorokin.

Russian Serviceman Killed During Shelling in Abkhazia

LD2803170993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1630 GMT 28 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondet Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 28 Mar—Vitaliy Volf, a 22 year-old sergeant of the extended military service, has been killed as a result of today's shelling of the Russian troops' laboratory in Nizhniye Eshery, an operative group of Russian Federation Armed Forces in Abkhazia has reported. The operative group of the Russian Armed Forces has stated that "they will respond if force is used against them or they are fired at".

Abkhazia Protests Soviet Weapons Transfer to Georgia

LD2703000093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1404 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegolova]

[Text] Sochi, 26 Mar—The press service of the Abkhazia Supreme Soviet has issued a strong protest against the transfer to Georgia of weaponry from the former Soviet Army. "This fact," says the statement circulated here today, "is a cause for extreme concern by the peoples of Abkhazia and the North Caucasus, and forces them to respond appropriately, while further exacerbating the already difficult relations between Abkhazia and Georgia."

The protest was prompted by a news conference held in Tbilisi by Major General Boris Dyukov, the deputy commanding officer of the Group of Russian Forces in Transcaucasia, at which he announced that the Russian troops stationed in the region will hand over to Georgia's military authorities 34 bases with armaments and hardware.

Moscow, 26 Mar (ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin)—The handover of the bases and part of the weaponry and equipment under Russian guard is envisaged in the collective security treaty signed at the summit of CIS heads of state in Tashkent. Under the agreement, Armenia and Azerbaijan have received their share of the former Soviet Army's weapons, but the handover to Georgia is not yet complete, ITAR-TASS was told over the telephone by the press center of the Group of Russian Forces in Transcaucasia.

As is being pointed out here, the Russian military is worried that the Georgian military authorities are still unable to maintain security at a number of installations now being transferred, despite the Tashkent agreements. This is why some bases are being attacked and equipment stolen, which was also pointed out by Gen. Dyukov at his Tbilisi news conference.

Abkhaz Representative Demands Georgian Withdrawal

MK2703112693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA reports" rubric: "Abkhazia"]

[Text] Igor Akhba, Abkhazia's plenipotentiary representative in Moscow, said in an interview for the IPRINDA news agency that a peaceful settlement of the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict could be achieved provided that two conditions were met without fail: namely, that a ceasefire be observed, and that the Georgian troops be withdrawn from Abkhaz territory.

According to Akhba, the Abkhaz side is willing to consider simultaneously the question of withdrawing North Caucasian volunteer units through Abkhaz territory.

When asked about what state arrangements were being contemplated for Abkhazia, Igor Akhba said that the retention of the current autonomous status was out of the question.

Igor Akhba dismissed the claim of the Tbilisi authorities, that Russian troops were involved in the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict on Abkhazia's side, as an attempt to shift the blame for the bloodshed onto the other side.